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Preface

The ethnographic research which is the basis for this community study was conducted in Taiwan over a period of sixteen months during 1957–1958. Except for some demographic data for the village which were gathered from 1959 records, all the data are from not later than the end of 1958. This book, then, will present a picture of the village community as it was up to and through the period of 1957–1958, although the village has undoubtedly changed in some respects in the intervening years.

All Chinese words used throughout the book are in the Mandarin, rather than in the local Taiwanese (Min-nan) language, and are romanized in the Wade-Giles system. Most Chinese terms used can be found in the glossary. If a Chinese word appears in the text only once and is immediately explained there, it does not appear in the glossary of Chinese Words.

My field research was first reported as a Ph.D. dissertation at Cornell University in September, 1961. I wish to express my sincere appreciation to Professors Robert J. Smith, Knight Biggerstaff, Lauriston Sharp, Harold Shadick, and Morris E. Opler for their constant stimulation, guidance, support, and encouragement throughout my graduate training and fieldwork. Additional thanks are due Professor Smith, who so generously gave of his time and energy in the supervision of the dissertation, and to Joyce Lewis Kornbluh for her valuable editorial assistance.

The Ford Foundation, through its Foreign Area Training Fellowship Program, provided the funds which made possible the generous period of research and some additional time for analysis of the data. For this I am extremely grateful.

I am appreciative of assistance in locating a village from the Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction (JCRR) in Taiwan and especially Messrs. Y. T. Chen, Leonard L. C. Chang, and Stephen Tsai, members of that organization. Thanks are also due Professor Chen

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Introduction

This book, primarily a study of a Hokkien Chinese agricultural community on the west-central coastal plain of Taiwan, is based on a field study carried on during sixteen months of actual residence in Hsin Hsing village. It is more than simply an ethnographic description, however, since it also provides a picture of the changing life of the Chinese peasant, at least in one area of the island.

Taiwan provides an especially unique opportunity for the study of the nature of Chinese culture change and its dynamics. In a relatively brief span of years it has evolved from a traditional, premodern society to an emerging urban-industrial society. As more and more scholars have come to realize, the essential material for the study of this dynamic process is available there for analysis.

At the same time, until fieldwork can be carried on again on the Chinese mainland, research in Taiwan is perhaps the closest one can come to studying a Chinese cultural group living in a Chinese context. This has unfortunately been the case since Western scholars were virtually halted in their firsthand ethnographic research on the mainland of China when the Communists assumed power in 1949. The several studies published before and since then, ranging in type from J. L. Buck's (1930, 1937) detailed land-utilization and farm family surveys to the anthropological and sociological community study type (see bibliography), are of scattered areas dotting the great Chinese land mass. For the extremely important area of southeastern China, Fukien and Kwangtung, where most of the Taiwanese came from, only three published Western language studies exist—those of Kulp (1925), Lin (1947), and C. K. Yang (1959). Other than some scattered general studies (discussed briefly in Chapter 2) and a number of brief works dealing with highly specific subjects, this book, which combines ethnography with detailed analysis, is the first of its kind to be made available for Taiwan.

Culturally, Taiwan has been and still is a part of China. Before the influx of Chinese between 1945 and 1949, immigration from the south-

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have taken the form of the villagers' increased involvement in the greater market economy, the necessary migration of more and more villagers to the expanding cities with their newly developing economic opportunities, and, of course, the increased impingement of the government on the rural areas.

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In this study of a peasant community, I will describe and analyze the manner in which the Taiwanese agricultural villager is being transformed from a peasant primarily involved in a basically subsistence type of agriculture to one who is becoming more and more involved in the market economy of the country and who has widespread contacts with an urban way of life. I will show how such developments are interrelated with and have increasingly effected certain changes in village social organization, community and kinship solidarity, and some of the general patterns of village life. However, we will also see that the cultural and social changes have been weighty in some areas of life and scant in others.

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These changes in the Taiwanese village are perhaps far less dramatic and less drastic than those which the Chinese Communists are now attempting to institute among the Chinese peasants on the mainland, where in the past social change was relatively slow due to its massive size, poor system of communications, and lack of an effective centralized government organization. In order to achieve a strong Communist state, the Chinese Communists are consciously attempting to accelerate the process of urbanization, breaking down the traditional large kinship-group oriented rural society and the provincialism of the entire Chinese population. They hold that a single-class Communist society can be achieved only through the total transformation of the agrarian population, dominated by a peasant mentality, into an agrarian proletariat with a national and social consciousness. The commune system has perhaps been one technique used to speed the urbanization process and to develop an "urban mentality" by transforming the thought processes of a large agrarian segment of the population through education, mass organizations, and group cooperation as well as by changing its standard of living. It is unfortunate that we are unable to observe this changing phenomenon on the mainland today, because we are undoubtedly missing much which would greatly contribute to our understanding of the process of change in such a complex society. There are, of course, qualitative and quantitative differences between the mainland and Taiwan, much as there are differences between various areas of the mainland. Nevertheless, by observing and analyzing the nature of culture change in Taiwan, we may not only be able to understand the changing Taiwanese situation but may also gain insights into the nature and development of Chinese culture and society generally and, perhaps also, by analogy derive

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some insights into what is now taking place on the Chinese mainland. For many of the changes now taking place both in Taiwan and on the mainland are primarily due to the same cause—the encroachment of urbanization on a traditionally agrarian culture, whether enforced by the Japanese, the Nationalist Chinese, or the Chinese Communists.

FIELD METHODS AND PROBLEMS

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In the selection of a research site, I looked for a Taiwanese village with several attributes. These were that the inhabitants be of mainland origin, preferably descendants of early emigrants from the province of Fukien; that the village have agriculture as its primary means of livelihood; that it have a moderate-sized population, preferably between five hundred and one thousand inhabitants, to facilitate the achievement of familiarity with most of the people and with all aspects of village cultural life; that it be fairly traditional both culturally and socially and as typical as possible of the general villages in that area; and that housing be available inside the village for me, my wife, and our interpreter. It was also important that the village not be too near a major city, and yet not be geographically or culturally isolated from the main flow of Taiwanese life; it had to be identifiable as a definite community.

And, of course, it was important that the villagers be receptive to having a foreign observer move into the village.

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It is no easy task to search for a village in which to carry on research in an unfamiliar country. The island of Taiwan, which on the map appears to be minute, is actually 250 miles long from north to south and 90 miles wide; it has an area of 13.8 thousand square miles.

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At the start of my search, I talked with the staff of the Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction (JCRR), a Chinese and American agency which plays an important role in rural development in Taiwan. They briefed me on the cultural and geographic areas of rural Taiwan, and we decided that the *hsien* (counties) of Chang-hua, Taichung, and Yun Lin (all on the west-central coastal plain of Taiwan) offered the best possibilities for a suitable village. The next step was to travel by jeep within this area with JCRR field agents to visit many different kinds of villages and make a final choice. The interpreter, whom I hired at that time to live and work with my wife and me in the village, was a companion on these excursions. (For a discussion of translation methods and the use of the interpreter in the field see Appendix I.)

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During the time we were investigating the many villages, we also visited local Farmers' Associations and *hsiang* (district) public offices. We held many long discussions with local officials to get additional

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information about particular villages to determine their suitability. Finally, we chose Hsin Hsing village, in Pu Yen Hsiang, Chang-hua Hsien, since of the villages being given final consideration, it was the only one in which housing was available.

At the outset it was difficult to determine the typicality of the village chosen, but Hsin Hsing does not appear to differ significantly from other villages in the area. Like any other village it has its own characteristics, but as far as I could determine, aside from a somewhat smaller average landholding per family compared to other villages of the district, few cultural or social differences of major consequence existed.

For more than sixteen months, during 1957–1958, my wife and I lived in Hsin Hsing, conducting both formal and informal interviews. As residents of the village living in one wing of the home of a former village landlord, we were invited to almost all village functions. By living in the village, we became semiparticipant observers and could observe the daily interaction among people, recognize and identify individuals, and better understand relationships between families and between their members. We actually established reciprocal visiting relationships, much like those the villagers had amongst themselves, with a great many people of Hsin Hsing and some from neighboring villages.

When we moved into the village we were formally introduced to the entire population at a regular village meeting. At that time the village elected leaders, and I told the villagers that I was interested in the customs of the Taiwanese village people. Soon after getting settled, we began the actual study by mapping the village and surveying all the village households to determine the composition of the families. During this survey, we became acquainted with a large number of villagers with whom we talked about village life and some of its problems, gaining some initial insights into the village's economic situation and the similarities and differences among village families.

Although a number of especially articulate villagers were developed as key informants over a period of time, in actuality almost the entire population served as informants. During the early part of the study in Hsin Hsing, interviews were carried on through conversations; most of the data were recorded out of sight of the informants after the interviews were completed. When the informants were fully at ease with us during the later phase of the research period, interviews were recorded on the spot. In order to obtain quantifying data to supplement the unstructured interviews, a limited number of additional surveys and questionnaires were also conducted during this time.

From the very beginning of our stay in Hsin Hsing, the villagers showed great interest in our presence. In a sense, many of them seemed

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cult to establish even as simple a fact as the date of the founding of the village. Much historical and statistical data pertaining to the Hsin Hsing area and maintained by the Japanese have been lost. Only a few documents recording the history of the immediate area still remain; these are generally scattered here and there in local government offices and libraries. Therefore, it was necessary to obtain information from ancestral tablets and interviews with villagers, especially the older people.

On the other hand, a good many official records, documents, and statistics relating to the Hsin Hsing area are available for the period after 1950. These fairly detailed records, usually filed village by village in the district Public Office, include such material as population records and data on land tenure, irrigation, and taxes.

These records, when available, were used extensively to supplement the material gathered through interviews. Often, although material collected on the basis of such interviews represents more attitude than fact, I attempted to compensate for this weakness by using many informants and checking their information with whatever recorded material was available. Thus, by constant comparison and contrast of verbal interviews and recorded material I was able to reconstruct some of the more recent historical events that are important in understanding the development of Hsin Hsing village as a community and as part of the rural structure of Taiwan.

THE STUDY OF A COMMUNITY

In the course of the fieldwork we managed to visit other villages in the area frequently in order to compare them with what we had found in Hsin Hsing. During such visits and other intervillage contacts it was clearly observable that the villagers of Hsin Hsing have many reciprocal relationships with residents of these other villages which they depend upon very much in one way or another—whether for marriage partners, for cooperation in religious activities or irrigation, or for farm labor and the like. On this basis, then, Hsin Hsing village is not unique but is typical of the villages in the general area with which it shares a common cultural and social life.

Nevertheless, we must remain aware of the necessary limitations on generalizing from a single peasant community, or even a whole area, which shares in a Great Tradition or major civilization. It cannot be fully representative of the many cultural and social levels of life of that tradition or civilization. No one village or area can typify Chinese culture or society as a whole. The community study per se cannot be used as a basis for generalizations about all of Chinese culture or even about some specific value or condition in that culture. Its value lies elsewhere.

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The community study provides firsthand data essential to gaining a better perspective of the culture. It suggests that for some areas of life our image of traditional culture, on which any analysis of the dynamics of contemporary China must be based, may not be accurate. Eventually it can stimulate us to reassess some of our most basic conceptions of Chinese culture.

Thus, for example, while examining the interplay of the many aspects of village life, this book, like some before it, explores in detail some of the traditional truisms and assumptions usually made about Chinese culture and society. In some instances it validates some traditionally based assumptions, as when it reports the continued significance of family and patrilineal kinship groupings even in present-day changing rural life. At the same time, much as Fried (1953) has enlightened us on the importance of non-kin interpersonal relations (*kan-ch'ing*), so this book presents subjects previously neglected, such as the significance of kinship relationships which are not based on the patrilineal kin tie and the nature of some traditional attitudes and ways of life.

The community study technique enables us to apprise significant cultural facts as they may have actually existed in the past and now exist for the masses of Chinese peasantry. It provides the data necessary for a perceptive inquiry into the dynamics of Chinese culture. Through it one becomes aware of facts which may yield insights into the larger society. It is this which I hope to provide in this book.

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The Land and the Agricultural Process

To understand present-day life in Hsin Hsing, it seems fruitful to look first at the nature of village livelihood and recent changes in it. By examining the nature of the economic change and especially its consequences—for example, the ways in which the villager, in order to improve or at least maintain his livelihood, has become increasingly involved in complex relationships beyond the village limits—we will be better able to understand the changes in other areas of life, such as social organization, village leadership and cooperation, family and kinship, and life history and religion. It will be seen in the following chapters that the changes produced in these other aspects tend to reinforce the processes of change in the economy, and hence in the village generally.

Agriculture and the land-man relationship have always been the basis of the livelihood of Hsin Hsing villagers. The major part of village income, in fact, still comes from sources related to the land. But the land resources, both in quantity and productive capacity (as already briefly noted in Chapter 2 in the section on population and its economic base), have not kept pace with the natural population increase. And yet, from all available evidence, in spite of the imbalance between agricultural income and productivity and natural population growth, the village income and standard of living have risen.

While this is important, our main concerns in Chapters 3 and 4 will be the nature of the economic organization in Hsin Hsing village, the developments which have brought about changes in the area, and how these have enabled the villagers to deal with the imbalance of land productivity to population.

Two major developments have affected Hsin Hsing and many surrounding villages as well: one is the effort, by government and villagers, to improve agricultural methods and the land tenure system so as to increase productivity and support more people; the other is the

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Family and Kinship

The scope of the changed and extended relationships beyond the village is very evident in the examination of the family and kinship system, the life cycle, and religious and magical beliefs to which we now turn. As in the preceding chapters, it will be observed that many of the relationships that extend beyond the village, such as certain economically based connections and relations with matrilateral and affinal relatives, are not new phenomena either for the inhabitants of Hsin Hsing or for other Chinese villagers. The Chinese village has seldom been an isolated unit, and many traditional types of extended relationships common to the mainland will be evident in the structure of social relations in Hsin Hsing village. However, there are changes and modifications in these aspects of village life which can be directly related to the recent socioeconomic developments and increasing urbanization which were discussed earlier.

Chapter 5 will describe the nature and functions of the family and kinship system in the village area, while Chapter 6 will examine interfamily and interpersonal relations, especially as they extend beyond the village and affect intravillage cooperation. Chapters 7 and 8 will indicate the interaction of the above relations and the economic factors of life with the life cycle and the magical and religious beliefs and practices.

THE *TSU*

Fukien, the ancestral province of the residents of Hsin Hsing, is known for the predominance of the large common descent groups called *tsu* organizations. As a number of writers have pointed out (Hu, 1948:14; Chen Han-seng, 1936:57; Lang, 1946:173; de Groot, vol. I, 1892:191) many villages in the provinces of southeastern China are inhabited exclusively by families bearing one surname, so that *tsu* and village are coterminous. In other villages which contained several *tsu*, each kept to itself in a separate neighborhood. So predominant

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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"curative and health-giving powers." Although the villagers of the Hsin Hsing area realize the importance of boiling drinking water, they will drink this holy water immediately after taking it out of the river and claim that they suffer no ill effects.

When the villagers have filled their receptacles, they depart for their own village. The *t'iao t'ung*, who is still in a trance, is carried on the top of a large sedan chair ordinarily used to transport the statues of gods. On his head is a large bandage. Although he has suffered only a superficial wound, the *t'iao t'ung's* actually cutting his head with a sword is impressive to the observers, since the blood flow increases when he dips his head into the water. All along the route homeward other villagers, already informed of the ceremonial, display sacrifices to the god who possesses the *t'iao t'ung* and bring out bottles and kettles in which to receive some of the holy water that is being transported in large barrels.

THE FUNCTIONS OF RITUAL IN HSIN HSING VILLAGE

Having examined the occasion and occurrence of many rites and rituals, we turn now to ways in which they function within the structure of village society and support it. Generally, their most obvious contribution is that participation in the ritual itself helps to relieve the anxiety of people who are desperately seeking to survive in a world of uncertainty or looking for solutions to otherwise insoluble problems. This is true whether the ritual is designed for protection or to moderate natural or supernatural disaster—illness, fire, or demonic possession—since at the very least the villager feels he is coming to grips with the problem. Other results of ritual are less obvious.

Curing rites, for example, resemble all medical practices in having useful side effects or fringe benefits beyond the actually therapeutic. Not only the patient but the whole family must be considered. The Chinese cultural focus on the family emphasizes the reciprocal responsibility of family and individual. Thus, a Taiwanese family must take advantage of every possible means to cure an ailing member or be looked down upon and criticized by the entire community for neglect, which increases the anxiety of the situation.

Therefore, when Western medicine does not work, the traditional-minded villagers turn at once to the shaman, feeling that the very failure proves that the illness is of supernatural origin. But even the skeptical families which have no firm belief in the potency of the magical rituals usually have them performed. This may be partly to avoid social censure, but, in fact, not even the most skeptical are entirely convinced that the rituals are ineffectual. Such villagers have been heard to say, "perhaps the ritual does help. And could one allow

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[For theoretical orientation on social institutions, specifically marriage and adoption in the village of Hsiachichou, see category 116, pp. 1-18, 37-40, 84-86, 140-142, 183-199, and 269-289.]

4599 most villagers account for their motives. The most common reasons given
3362 for deciding to give a daughter in adoption are just those reasons which
• 121 we have already described in our analysis. When asked why she gave away all but one of her four daughters, a village mother answered, "Why should I want all of those daughters? I exchanged them for two adopted daughters. Your own daughters are of no use if you have sons." Another informant told us that she had given away all of her later born daughters as a means of saving the family the expense of feeding them. "Why should I want so many daughters? It is useless to raise your own daughters. We'd just have to give them away when they grew up, and so when someone asked for them we gave them away. Think of all the rice we saved." While we hope the reader will have found something new in our analyses, it must be admitted that to the people of Hsiachichou there is nothing here which is not obvious and commonplace.

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

interviews many times that length. Without her, many of the more detailed conversations would never have been recorded. Her talents extended beyond those of the inconspicuous interpreter and ambulatory tape-recorder. Her capacity to appear unimportant but sympathetic made her the confidante of many and, for me, a library of information about local attitudes toward people and their lives.

I am not an anthropologist, but this book has benefited from several careful readings by an anthropologist who knows the Lims as well as I. In the pages that follow I have tried to do three things: to present a case study for the social scientist interested in the strains inherent to the form of family considered ideal in China, to provide another account of village life for those with a more general interest in China, and to tell a good story. I have depended heavily upon my husband's advice as to the information important to a case study, made my own judgements as to what might interest the general reader about life in a Taiwanese village, and left the story to the Lims.

Books such as Ida Pruitt's *Daughter of Han* and Lin Yueh-hwa's *The Golden Wing* have made major contributions to our understanding of China. It is, after all, the nameless and the unimportant who make up the society over which leaders and politicians debate. The statesmen may control a country's temporal fate, but its existence over time depends upon the farmer, the peddler, the noodle-maker. China's history over the centuries has varied with the strength of its leaders, but its people have gone on being Chinese, whoever the ruler, whatever the political crises. I hope that in some small way this study of an unimportant family may add to our understanding of what being Chinese is all about.

On every page of this book there is evidence of the debt I owe the people of Peihotien, both Lims and non-Lims. Less apparent is the contribution of our field staff, but their patience, endurance, and plain hard work will always be remembered with gratitude. This includes the small dragon who ruled our kitchen, balanced our budget, corrected our table manners, and sewed on our buttons. My husband, Arthur Wolf, deserves more than thanks. Without him, there would have been no House of Lim—unless he had written it himself. Thanks are due to many people who read and criticized early drafts, in particular: Mrs. Pi-yung Hsu who spent many hours selecting authentic, even though fictitious, Taiwanese names; Mrs. Sidney Meller for the difficult reading of a first draft;

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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structure of their ideal is complete. Instead of housing a single, united family, the wings are filled with independent units, each with its own stove, each having broken from the main family at the time of a brother's marriage or a father's death. Instead of a large house, the structure can only be properly described as a compound, for in some of the older houses the families are related to each other only three or four generations back. Two families have kept the ideal after the death of their fathers. One is a pair of surprisingly amiable brothers, both of whom work out of the village at well-paid jobs, leaving their two wives, ten children, unmarried sister, and mother in an ample village home. The two wives are so alike they could be sisters and they work together in effortless cooperation. Before we left the village, however, one of the brothers had been transferred to a town too far away to return home more than once a week. His wife, knowing only too well how much business is contracted in what might be called Taiwanese night clubs, packed up her children and the furniture of her dowry and went to join him. Although the division was made with little fuss and continued good will, it was still recognized as a "dividing of the stove." The only family still retaining the eminence of being united under one authority when we left Peihotien was that of Lim Chieng-cua. This is the family with whom we lived and about whom the rest of this book is concerned. [121]

Lim Chieng-cua and his siblings were born and grew up in a small mud house much like their neighbors. In time a good many improvements were made in the house, but the family really wanted a new one, not additions and improvements. Lim Chieng-cua once told me, "Before we built this new house, we had a mud house with a thatch roof. Every time there was a typhoon my father and my older brother's wife and I had to stay up all night to tie the roof down so it wouldn't blow off. Oh, how badly we wanted a new house! We changed two rooms of the mud house to brick, we had a good kitchen, a room for bathing and a big wooden tub for heating bath water. We even had a hand pump and hardly anyone had a pump in those days, but our hearts weren't satisfied. Now we have a good brick house, and yet every time I see a better house, I wish we had a better one too." [515] [406]

It is characteristic of Lim Chieng-cua and his father that when they built their new house it was not quite like any other house in the village. It was a traditional house and in every way worthy of respect.

4:Barnett E-4,5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

ABSTRACT

**AN ETHNOGRAPHIC DESCRIPTION OF
SANLEI TS'UN, TAIWAN
WITH EMPHASIS ON WOMEN'S ROLES**

**OVERCOMING RESEARCH PROBLEMS
CAUSED BY THE PRESENCE OF
A GREAT TRADITION**

By

William Kester Barnett

121 Evidence from a 1965-67 field study conducted in a rural Taiwanese village suggested that the structural position of women was not inferior to men to the extent described in most previous reports or the literature of the Great Tradition of China. A detailed statement of the discrepancies, reasons for their occurrence, and suggestions for reducing misinterpretations in the future are provided.

128 The largest portion of the four logical divisions of this report contains a typical ethnography of a Hokkien village in the rice-tea-orange region of northern Taiwan, based on nineteen months of field work employing standard anthropological techniques such as participant-observation, mapping, census, life histories, and open-ended interview schedules.

121 128 The second portion contrasts the canons of the Great Tradition which contend Chinese women were expected to be uneducated, economically useless, subordinate, submissive, obedient, reticent, passive, and timid, with research data from Sanlei Ts'un where many women were educated, most were

[Introductory piii]

121 economically important, and several were family despots.
128 Other Chinese ethnographies indicate that Sanlei is not deviant for each contains considerable data which support the latter description despite the fact the data is in conflict with the author's summary regarding female status. A few sources explicitly claim the case for the lowly position of women in China has been overstated.

The third portion establishes how the errors in interpretation come about. One primary cause relates to the frequent anthropological emphasis on persisting aspects of social structure with a corresponding, but not necessary, focus on "ideal" rather than "real" culture; but more important, the presence of a Great Tradition which is expressed in a literary record generates problems for valid anthropological research in high civilizations. Indigenous scholars and foreign anthropologists alike become steeped in the "ideal" culture described by a society's Great Tradition before commencing field work. According to cognitive dissonance theory, it is extremely difficult to overcome any belief once it becomes internalized, i.e., any evidence contrary to existing knowledge tends to be ignored or denied. Therefore, both evidence and conclusions derived from research in civilizations by "specialists" probably will be unconsciously biased in favor of the Great Tradition.

The last major section is devoted to four suggestions for preventing further misinterpretations. The first supports added attention to concrete enumeration of rates

• 121 and cases as part of the increased attention to research
128 methodology and reduced reliance on impressions.

The second advocates increased employment of the processural approach featuring extended case studies which place other analysts one step nearer to the social facts than conventional approachese, i.e., at the level of reading observational reports rather than abstractions.

The third and fourth proposals are two sides of the same coin. In order to maintain traditional anthropological objectivity which was customarily partially based on cross-cultural research, and yet, in order to obtain the advantages accruing from specialization in a Great Tradition, specialists should be encouraged to punctuate field activities in their special civilization by entering a third culture for comparative purposes, and conversely, other ethnographers should be encouraged to conduct research in high civilizations outside their areas of expertise. Specialization in a single society is probably dysfunctional for anthropology as presently practiced.

Nevertheless, undue pessimism is not fully warranted as demonstrated by several breakthroughs with new interpretations of Chinese cultural materials despite their conflicts with ideals expressed in the Great Tradition, i.e., in family composition, importance of affinal relations, nature of lineage organizations, etc. Further research is expected to support the contention that the status of women in China is not actually as low as was commonly accepted.

[Introductory p.v]

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

CHAPTER I

PROBLEM AND APPROACH

Overview of the Theoretical Problem

121 562 In a field study, I found that the actual role of women in contemporary rural Taiwanese society was significantly different from my expectations which were based on an analysis of the traditional literature.[1] In brief, the structural position of women was not inferior to the position of men to the degree expected. Although part of the differences between the observed and predicted patterns was due to socio-cultural change and regional variation, a significant portion is due to errors in abstraction by former reporters. The theoretical problem for this study is the delineation of the inconsistencies and an explanation of the reasons for the errors.

121 One of the foundations of the anthropological approach to research is involvement in a culture foreign to that of the investigator. This requirement is based on the belief that a minimum level of dissimilarity is necessary for both objectivity and awareness. That is, it is necessary that behavior be sufficiently different from that normally encountered by the investigator so that

4:Barnett E-4,5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

• 12| assumptions about human nature are called into question. It will be demonstrated that this ideal approach is not realized in some kinds of societies.

In the early history of anthropology, most research focused on primitive or tribal groups. Commencing in the nineteen-thirties, anthropologists were led by Redfield (1930), Fei (1939), and Embree (1939) to the study of major civilizations, particularly peasant societies. As Geertz has written, "The peasant is an immemorial figure on the world social landscape but anthropology noticed him only recently" (1962:1). The interest in peasants gradually increased, particularly in the last twenty years. Foster argues that problems of peasantry now occupy the attention of more anthropologists than any other (1967a:2).

There is a qualitative difference between peasant societies and primitive societies which has not been sufficiently considered: the possession of a "Great Tradition" which is clearly expressed in a literary record. There has been some research with regard to the degree which the "Little Tradition" of a local community expresses the "Great Tradition" of the society in which it is embedded.[2] Yet, what is often seemingly overlooked is that the "Great Tradition" and the literary record usually concern only the elite classes in a society, the bearers of the "Great Tradition." The existence of a record of this

• 12 type has important implications for anthropological research.

An anthropologist prepares to study a great civilization by reading as much of its record as possible including the great novels, poetry, songs, history, philosophy, and the like. This is inevitably accomplished even though a small rural community research project is planned. It was suggested by implication in the above paragraph that the relationship between the "Great Tradition" expressed in this literature and the "Little Tradition" to be discovered in the village is problematical. It is possible that the study of the "Great Tradition" may create a bias in the observer which psychologists refer to as creation of a "psychological set." Kendler (1968:319-20), for example, argues that once the subject has internalized one set of concepts or responses, it is extremely difficult for him to learn to reverse his knowledge. In simple terms, it is implied that the investigator will discover exactly what he expects to discover. He may make good observations in the field. Nevertheless, his conclusions are likely to be consistent with the knowledge he derived from his preparations before going to the field. Two cases will illustrate this problem.

For the first, both the "Great Tradition" of China and the anthropological reports agree that the dominant residence pattern in China is patrilocal. A recent

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12 description of a Taiwanese village concluded that its dominant residence pattern was patrilocal (Johnson, 1966). Dominant was employed in a statistical sense, i.e., most common. However, in the same paper, detailed data were [591] provided describing each marriage. My computations which were solely based on the listed data revealed that 31% of the residences after marriage were patrilocal and 33%, neolocal. Therefore, the author's abstraction that patrilocal residence is dominant is not supported by his own data. This is not a deliberate falsification for it is highly probable that the villagers would also agree with the investigator's contention that most brides join their husbands at his father's house.

The second example is similar. At a meeting in Taipei, I heard a sociologist's description of a typical[3] Chinese wedding on Taiwan replete with the bride's red dress and sedan chair which closely matched traditional accounts. The use of the term typical implies that the [595] described pattern was most frequent. In my own village, [17] a Western-style white wedding gown rather than a red chi pao (tight-collared slit-sided Chinese dress) was usual and at the only wedding where the bride wore a red dress, my Chinese assistant was very excited by the fact that the bride was not wearing what he called the "traditional white gown." Therefore, after the paper was concluded I questioned the author informally. In his village, he had

• [2] observed fifteen weddings; two brides wore a red dress and thirteen, a white gown. He concluded that there were two typical weddings and thirteen exceptions. His summary is a good illustration of the argument--his data were good, furnished without hesitation in spite of the fact the data did not support his abstraction. His abstraction was consistent with the "Great Tradition" which I argue creates a personal bias difficult for the investigator to overcome. He, for example, displayed no anxiety when I confronted him with the fact that his "typical" wedding should reflect the white gown worn in 13 cases rather than the red dress worn in two.

The kind of preparation described above for study in a civilization contrasts significantly with that by an anthropologist planning a tribal study. He too reads all that is available but most of what he reads are observational reports rather than a body of indigenous literature. He probably still brings to his study his own biases for after all, "No man looks at the world with pristine eyes" (Benedict, 1935:4). However, the biases were derived from a cultural background distinct from the focus of the field study.

It is probable that the anthropologist interested in one of the great civilizations brings to the field not only the biases derived from his own culture but biases from the culture in which he plans to conduct research.

[2] Also note that this second type of bias is derived from a subculture of the elite classes rather than from the peasant masses. It is probably significant that many anthropologists who study China are known as "Sinologists" but there is no equivalent term for those who study the Zuni or the Nuba.

However, once a bias derived from the "Great Tradition" is overcome and reported in the literature, other investigators soon discover the fact in their own research This does not imply that there is any falsification; rather, that once the importance of some social fact is drawn to the attention of the investigator, he looks at its implications for his own research. This latter belief is supported by the fact that when ethnographies written before its recognition are re-examined, they often provide support for the new discovery through concrete details although the original author may have reached the opposite conclusion.

[2] 59 Let me illustrate with the case of the Chinese family. Almost all early descriptions of the Chinese family emphasized its nature as a large extended family unit. In a demographic survey of 2,866 farm families in China, Buck revealed that most of the families were nuclear and smaller than previously suggested (1930). However, Buck's report did not have much effect on the literature until discovered and reported with further data by

121 59 F. L. K. Hsu in an article entitled "The Myth of Chinese Family Size" (1943). Subsequent to Hsu's article, almost every anthropologist-sinologist includes a section in any article about the Chinese family that echoes this discovery about the frequency of its small size (Lang, 1946; Lee, 1949; M. Levy, 1949; Gallin, 1966). However, one still finds many new articles on the Chinese family by others more removed from the mainstream of the sub-discipline which are either citing earlier literature or are citing quotes of quotes which still describe the Chinese family system as if the extended family were the norm. Before Hsu's article (1943), Fei had written (1939:27) that "the basic social group in the village is the chia, an expanded family." However, a careful examination of his data reveals that in his village the large family was rare. He calls it "curious" that "in less than ten percent of the total number of Chia [sic] do we find more than one married couple" (1939:28). In summary, Fei does furnish data which support the arguments for the high frequency of the small family size although he concludes the opposite.

121 602 For another illustration, consider the only recently realized importance of the role of affinal relatives in the Chinese kinship system first recognized by Gallin (1960). Gallin's report stressed their importance at the level of the peasant sector of the society as well as the elite. Affinal relatives in China, in spite of a

4:Barnett E-4,5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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supposed overwhelming emphasis on patrilineality, have been "discovered" to be important in economic and political spheres as well as in such other spheres as marriage, funerals, education, certain birthdays, childbirth, etc. Subsequent reports take Gallin's discovery into account. For example, A. P. Wolf (1968) stressed the importance of the need to establish a network of affinal relations as one factor promoting traditional marriage forms in a Taiwanese peasant village.

As suggested previously, the re-examination of earlier reports also reveals clues to the importance of affinal relatives. The partnership which dominates Lin Yueh-hwa's study of Chinese familism (1947) consisted of a pair of affinal relatives. Although Fei placed great emphasis on agnates, he does indicate some significance for affinal extensions (1939:86-7). Finally, Freedman concludes (1957:225-31) that the kinship system in Singapore does not place an emphasis "on the groupings of people into agnatic groups" which is found in Fukien and Kwangtung. The importance of affinal relatives is one of the factors negating this expected emphasis. Because his conclusions which were based on observation are different than his expectations which were based on the literature, he considers Singapore to be deviant (1957:225). In the terms of the concept previously delineated, it may well be the case that if he were to make observations in Fukien and Kwangtung, he might also conclude that they too were

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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deviant from the model he furnishes for them, a model which he derived from the traditional literature.

I wish to strongly emphasize that careful analysis of earlier reports usually reveals support for each of these new discoveries in spite of the fact they were contrary to conventional literature and the "Great Tradition." It is discovered that the old data lends itself to a fresh interpretation in light of the new discovery. The original interpretation was incorrect or perhaps, neglected certain key aspects.

The above kinds of errors are now less likely to eventuate. Probably to a greater degree than ever before in the history of anthropology, there is an emphasis on science and a scientific approach. It is my belief that observations today include a greater amount of factual detail such as enumeration of examples than previously. Moreover, extended case studies provide detailed data previously available only to the original observer. There is correspondingly less emphasis on impressions. It is felt that this newer approach will help overcome the errors in previous ethnographies.

Attention is also being focused on research methodology. In a recent introduction to a work on methods, Epstein remarked on the "curious dearth of publications devoted specifically to the problems of fieldwork" (1967: vii). Malinowski has been held up as an excellent observer

• 12| worthy of emulation by most of my generation of anthropologists and those of one generation earlier. Yet, there are now second thoughts with regard to his reports. He was a romantic, reporting on what the society was like in the past and not on what he really observed. Where were the western soldiers, traders, trading posts, etc.? Mair (1969:135) claims that although Malinowski taught us "to look at society ' as a going concern,' what he described in the Trobriand Islands was 'the going concern' as it must have been just before a Colonial ruler began to interfere with it." A romantic ideal and glorification of the past has often been a part of anthropology. An indication of this previous emphasis may be found in the frequent use of the term the "ethnographic present" rather than the "past."

In this dissertation I plan to explore one of the kinds of error previously described. Given the current state of awareness about the small size of the Chinese family, it is time for a detailed re-examination of consequent differences in its internal roles and role relationships. By means of a community case study, I focus on the role of women in rural Chinese society and how the role differs from that reported in the traditional accounts. In addition to the particular case study, traditional literature will be re-examined for supporting evidence in spite of the original author's own abstractions and conclusions.

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121 Finally, implications for anthropological research in great civilizations will be considered.

Discovery and Evolution of the Specific Problem

Before going to the field, I had no plan to focus on the role of women. I intended a standard descriptive ethnography with problem interests in culture change and the computer simulation of decision-making behavior. Since the specific concern with female roles appears to represent a radical change, I shall briefly discuss the development of my interest.

122 My preparations for field work were typical for anthropology students of Chinese society. They included an appropriate mastery of anthropological theory and methods plus a good background in anthropological sources pertaining to China. Additionally, I gained a basic familiarity with materials on China from other disciplines such as history, philosophy, literature, religion, and art. Although I attempted to approach the field in an open-minded manner, I had internalized a set of expectancies for behavior against which my observations could be compared. The observed behavior of women deviated most strikingly from what I expected.

121 562 The status of women in China is traditionally presented as structurally inferior to the status of men. The differences in status are not minor. In order to strengthen the case for the lowly position of women in China,

4:Barnett E-4,5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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[121] several sources (Lang, 1946:42; Bloodworth, 1966:71) echo
562 the words of the third century B.C. poet Fu Husan (Waley, 1941:72), "How sad it is to be a woman! Nothing on earth is held so cheap." Parsons argues that female subordination is an adaptive structure, necessary for maintaining continuity in Chinese society (1951:196). In one of the most complete accounts of the position of women, based both on interviews and a thorough review of the literature, Olga Lang concludes "man's supremacy in society and family became complete" (1946:42). She further describes the expected virtues of women as "obedience, timidity, reticence, and adaptability" (1946:43). Fairbank adds that women were dominated by men and greatly inferior. A behavior pattern of obedience and passivity was expected of women. He further claims that although there were forceful women, they controlled by indirection, not by fiat (1948:28-42). Although greater detail is provided in the last chapter of my account, the sources are in overwhelming agreement with this brief description.

My early observations of female behavior were not consistent with impressions deriving from this literature.
[122] The first few weeks in Taiwan were devoted to locating a research site, advanced language training, acquiring and furnishing a house, and hiring and training assistants and an amah. We traveled in the big cities of Taipei and Taichung, their suburban towns, and the surrounding countryside. We often found women to be domineering and verbally

121 abusive or authoritarian in their relations with men. It
562 is nearly impossible to spend more than five minutes in a busy market without hearing a woman arguing with a man and even berating him loudly. My wife was taught certain curses, to be addressed only to males such as a salesman or taxi driver. If the curses would not make a taxi driver operate his vehicle at a slower rate, she was told to hit him. We observed women hitting men with their umbrellas on at least five occasions although in only two of these cases did we collect data other than the observation. In one, a woman hit her husband because he had spent too much money drinking in the afternoon, apparently a frequent occurrence. In the other, a woman hit a pedicab driver whom she had not seen prior to that day in a dispute over a fare. When asked if she feared physical retaliation, she said that men seldom returned women's blows.

As we established intimate friendships in the cities and became intensively involved in the villages we studied, we continued to find that the behavior of women was consistent with our initial observations rather than the literature. For example, women were the most outspoken--men seldom raised their voices or verbally abused women; women frequently screamed at men, relatives and strangers alike. In the homes, women often controlled the family budget. I never saw a woman locked out of her

121 house overnight for misbehavior but on five occasions in
562 the village during our residence, men slept all night on the ground because their wives had locked them out after they had come home too late or had spent too much money at a drinking party. One cold wet night I wanted to let a locked-out man sleep on my kitchen floor. My assistant, an educated Taiwanese, argued that it would not be best because the wife would get very angry and make trouble for us in the village. Our discussion was academic for the man was too afraid not to stay out. He said that his wife wanted him to stay out; he had done wrong, and if he came into our house for the night, his wife would not be satisfied and would only cause him more trouble.

[439] Almost everyone agreed that women could bargain
[494] better than men and obtain lower prices. For example, the
[435] fare from town to my village was $24.00 to $26.00 on the taxi meter. It was extremely easy to negotiate a flat price of $20.00 and men who bargained hard could lower this to $18.00. However, women could get the price down to $16.00. No man could get the price this low and if a man began to get into a cab after a woman had negotiated a $16.00 price, the driver would refuse to transport him. Most village men attributed their family's ability to save to the dominance and thriftiness of women.

The longer we stayed in the village, the greater the accumulation of data which supported the discrepancy

121 between observed and expected female behavior. After my
562 return to Michigan State University, I carefully reviewed the traditional literature in the light of this apparent discovery. There were many clues suggesting that the previous case had been overstated. There were a few examples of others who had already made the identical discovery, the earliest in the report of Yosaburo Takekoshi which was based on an extensive tour of Taiwan early in the period of the Japanese occupation. He illustrates this contrast between preparation and observation suggested previously in a single sentence:

> I had heard that the women of China were grevously [sic] oppressed, and I expected to find it the same in Formosa, but, after carefully investigating the facts, I have come to the conclusion that Formosan women enjoy more freedom in many respects than is allowed to their sisters in China (1907:310).

121 My discussion and interpretation of female behavior
183 are disturbing to some educated Chinese for they too are
562 enculturated in terms of their own "Great Tradition." Chinese friends who have read some of the following chapters argue that too much emphasis has been placed on the exceptions instead of on the actual traditional patterns. At a party one night, nine Chinese student friends stated that men usually controlled all the money in a Chinese household. However, in answer to my direct question about their own households, only two stated that their fathers controlled the money and the other seven, their mothers.

121 183 562 After a few minutes of discussion, eight of the nine students agreed that the fathers were proper and standard and the seven female examples in their respective homes were all exceptions. One student felt he needed further data. The facts in the example support my argument; the students' beliefs do not. The contrast between the facts and beliefs suggests the strong influence of the "Great Tradition" on individual members of a society. The nine students were actually surprised by the extent of female influence in their collective homes. Those in homes where mother was in control were somewhat surprised to find so many others in like positions. A. P. Wolf reports a similar kind of discrepancy between the "case enumeration summary" and the "villager's general summary" with regard to the frequency of marriage types in a Taiwanese village (1968).

121 A mechanism for the causes of incomplete observations and conclusions has been suggested, the previous internalization of a "Great Tradition." Cognitive dissonance theory (Festinger, 1957) helps explain the persistence of the belief in the face of contrary evidence. Cognitive dissonance theory states that when we obtain information which is inconsistent with our current beliefs, we are in a conflict situation. The conflict may be resolved by "denying" the new information or by changing the belief (Heiss, 1968:10). The examples previously listed

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12 illustrate both of these possibilities. It appears that the normal tendency is to "deny" the conflicting interpretation. When one individual does make a breakthrough and changes his belief, it is easy for others to follow suit, assuming the new belief is supported by the evidence. It is much easier to join at least one partner in oppositition to the opinion of a group than to stand alone (Asch, 1955:35).

Taiwan as a Research Site

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12 Most sinologists are extremely frustrated by the fact that they are not permitted to conduct research in Mainland China, primarily because of their inability to obtain the permission of the Communist government. This problem is particularly acute for anthropologists because of their research orientation which favors an intensive study of a single community by means of participant observation. A number of approaches have been employed in an attempt to overcome the frustration.

There have been studies of Chinese culture by means of documents at a distance (Freedman, 1958; 1966). There have been a few community studies in Mainland China but these are of questionable reliability due to the lack of the professional qualifications of the investigator (J. T. Myrdal, 1965), the personal ideologies of the investigators (Crook and Crook, 1959; 1966), or the extremely

short period allowed for the investigation (Geddes, 1963).

The most common approach has been to study a Chinese community outside of mainland China. Sometimes the communities function as sub-cultures in very different societies such as Indonesia (Tan, 1963) or Thailand (Coughlin, 1960; Skinner, 1957). In other cases, the communities are in areas of mixed political history and domination but which appear to have significant Chinese characteristics: Singapore (Freedman, 1957; Elliott, 1955), Hong Kong (Ward, 1954; Potter, 1968; Baker, 1968), or especially Taiwan (Gallin, 1966; Cohen, 1969; Wolf, 1968; Pasternak, 1969; Diamond, 1969).

All of the above communities have been strongly affected by foreign influences. This does not imply that mainland China has not been influenced; rather, extreme caution must be exercised in any attempt to generalize from the research site to mainland China for the extent of foreign influences are significantly different, both in quantity and quality.

There are good reasons why Taiwan is the most popular of these research locations. It is inhabited by Chinese people living in a Chinese cultural context under a Chinese government. The only official language is Mandarin Chinese. Six years of education are compulsory, nine years since 1968, and only in officially accredited government schools.

T H 121 T 648 17 However, Taiwan has serious drawbacks. Fried believes the relatively shallow period of Chinese residence is the most serious of these (1966:285). Also, Taiwan was occupied by the Japanese for a fifty year period, a situation not dissimilar to the American occupation of the Philippines. Although Japanese immigration never reached high levels, contacts with mainland China during this period were nearly as restricted as they have been during the last twenty years. For the most part, there were only minor efforts expended to Japanize the island and these occurred primarily in the last portion of the period of occupation, since the nineteen-thirties, as part of the war effort. However, the degree of Japanization was quite unevenly applied, strongest in the urban and suburban areas of large cities. A successful individual had to become quite Japanese for education was in the Japanese language in a Japanese school system. During the fifty years, officialdom was Japanese or at the very least, Japanese-oriented.

T 648 [175] T 162 [167] Aside from the short period between the restoration in 1945 and the Communist conquest of the mainland in 1949, contact with the mainstream of Chinese culture has been almost completely curtailed. There were large numbers of people who migrated permanently from the mainland to Taiwan during that short period of four years. These migrants and their descendants are known as "Mainlanders"

villages. Other Western goods may be purchased in the cities and towns. Movie houses all over Taiwan frequently run American movies, usually with Chinese subtitles. On television in rural villages, a favorite show was the American program "Combat" with Chinese subtitles. In these kinds of contacts and in the extent and depth of their influences, there are significant differences between Taiwan and the Mainland.

Finally, economic conditions are significantly different from those found on the Mainland. Taiwan has a relatively high standard of living as compared with the bulk of Asia. There is more industry, better educational opportunities, better transportation systems and better health care accompanied by lower mortality rates and longer life expectancy.

In spite of these problems, as previously argued, Taiwan remains the best site outside of the Mainland for research into Chinese culture. As claimed by Freedman, "Taiwan is China--that at least is not in dispute . . ." (1963:4). Even if it is eventually realized that research on Taiwan is not directly relevant to the processes of the mainstream of Chinese history, it is an excellent research site on its own terms, an example of a developing peasant society, a former colony, rapidly undergoing transformation and entering the mainstream of world change towards development of a modernized industrialized nation.

• 121 Constraints on the Selection of a Research Site

My original goal was to prepare a standard ethnography of a Taiwanese village. Ethnographic data normally may be used in a number of ways to further achievement of a number of goals. Some of these uses are planned and explicit; others are generated out of the field experience; and still others are not realized until later, after analysis by the original investigator or others. The latter use is especially dependent on the comprehensiveness of the original data. Every ethnography is necessarily highly selective. Out of a huge mass of behavior, the ethnographer abstracts selected aspects which he believes to be relevant in terms of his theoretical orientation or which bear on the problems under investigation. Since I originally had three major problems under consideration, they will be discussed briefly below because they affected the quality and quantity of the data and were important considerations in selection of the research site.

For the first, I am cooperating with my major professor, Dr. Bernard Gallin, senior investigator in a study of rural-to-urban migration and urban influences on rural village life, especially as the city becomes a stimulus for change. This research is primarily related to Taiwan but eventually may be extended to include other peasant societies. The first village studied for this purpose

121 (Gallin, 1966) was located many miles from a large city and required several hours travel to reach by local transportation.

To contrast with the kind of location studied by Gallin, it was desired to select a village which would be within commuting distance of a large city such that village residents could travel daily to work. Yet, to control as many other relevant factors as possible, it was necessary that village residents be descendants of Hokkien families who had migrated from Fukien at least one hundred years previously, whose primary occupations were in agriculture, and who possessed a clear identity as a community. In addition to the constraints on site selection, this cooperation in a study of rural-urban factors necessitated the collection of data comparable to that acquired in the original study conducted in 1957-58 (Gallin, 1966) as well as his follow-up study in 1965-66. The latter required duplication of one questionnaire administered to a sample of the villagers and another, to a sample of villagers who had migrated to the city of Taipei.

The second problem interest was due to the stimulation of Dr. John Gullahorn. I have a major interest in the computer simulation of human social behavior with a long-term goal of the eventual use of the data to build a computer model of the village which would simulate human

decision-making processes. Dr. Gullahorn's original simulation model involved a small number of people, three, who were artificial, and with considerable detail for each one (Gullahorn and Gullahorn, 1963; 1964). In complementary fashion, my intended simulation would involve more people, real rather than artificial constructions, and fewer details for each individual. This second problem interest necessitated selection of a fairly small village of manageable proportions, and the acquisition of a considerable amount of detail regarding every individual villager. Finally, to simplify the simulation, a relatively fixed structure and process would be an ideal. The fewer the changes that had occurred over the past fifty years, the better.

Finally, I and my wife, also a graduate student in anthropology, were both in the field at the same time and for the same general purpose, to conduct research on which to base our dissertations. The process required two independent community studies. However, since we were both interested in cultural and social change, it was possible to select sites which would maximize possibilities for understanding the processes of change. We decided to select two villages that represented relative extremes on a modern-to-traditional continuum. However, the two communities would be selected so that they would be nearly identical for as many other factors as possible: size,

12 age, ecological setting, etc., in order to allow for a "controlled comparison" (Eggan, 1954).

In order to meet the conditions imposed by the above three projects the object village would ideally have the following characteristics:

1. Population: 350 to 500
2. Reference Location to Large City: Daily commuting distance
3. Age: 100 to 250 years
4. Primary Occupational Structure: Agricultural
5. Primary Language: Taiwanese (Min-nan hua)
6. Place of Origin of Original Settlers: Fukien
7. Orientation: Traditional
8. Neighboring Village: Paired with one which shares a nearly identical ecological setting and as many of the other characteristics listed above as possible except that it should be relatively modern rather than traditional.

Except for the terms traditional and modern, all the above items were relatively easy to operationalize. Traditional is employed in the sense of emphasizing notions of continuity and stability (Sampson, 1964:723) and modern is its opposite, emphasizing change although no value judgment is intended. These terms are "ideal types" in a logical sense which provide limiting cases at each end of a continuum (Lockwood, 1964:312). No community fits at any one location on the continuum in every aspect, i.e., the more modern community with regard to most traits may be more traditional with regard to others, but two locations, in

general, may be relatively close or relatively distant to each other on the continuum. Traditional should also not imply stagnation for no village we visited in Taiwan was not extensively changed during the past twenty-five years. Easily contrasted factors distinguishing traditional from modern included housing types, extensiveness of material goods such as television sets, motorcycles, and sewing machines, changes in occupational structure, average level of formal education, and types of health practices. The traditional village was one which had changed relatively little in the last twenty-five years; the modern village was one which had changed considerably. I will illustrate with one concrete example. In the traditional village, mid-wives attended at births which have usually been in the home; in the modern village, most women went by bus to a Western-style clinic in town which was staffed with doctors, mid-wives and nurses.

Personal factors not directly relevant to the research design also influenced selection of the village: we would have to be accepted and locate housing. These two conditions did not prove to be problems since every site that approached reasonable congruence with the other above requirements would have seemingly made out entry easy.

Finally, I traveled with my family which included two school-age children. Since we planned on a residence

122 of eighteen months, it was necessary that we locate within reasonable commuting distance of an American school. This requirement restricted the locations to the countryside surrounding the large cities of Taipei and Taichung, each of which possessed an appropriate school.

Selection of the Subject Village

121 Due to the difficult terrain and state of the roads
122 and transportation facilities in the main possible locations, investigation revealed that distances should be specified in terms of travel-time rather than mileage. It was arbitrarily decided that a minimum of one-half hour travel-time probably separated village from city life. Maximally, as travel-time approached or exceeded one and one-half hours, it appeared unlikely that the village would contain any daily commuters. With the help of the J.C.R.R. (Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction) a pair of irregular concentric lines were drawn on maps of the areas surrounding Taipei and Taichung delineating the requisite distances of one-half to one and one-half hours travel-time. Demographic and ecological characteristics of all villages bounded by the lines were analyzed in a preliminary fashion with officials of the J.C.R.R. and with Professor Chen Shao-hsing of the Sociology Department at National Taiwan University.

121 We also discussed potential sites with officials
122 in each township office and the local farmer's association linked with villages within the specified areas although at this period of first contact, our requirements were not revealed to consultants in the detail listed above. We then visited any villages within the area that remotely approached the specifications. On all occasions, we were accompanied by a minor official of the local farmers' association. The latter individuals have comprehensive knowledge of the local community and moreover, usually have good relations with most villagers.

Some sites were discarded immediately for such obvious defects as size, too large or too small, or economy, i.e., a factory located within village limits. More promising ones received a visit with local officials, a walking tour through the village, and chats with several residents. Such investigations took from thirty minutes to an hour and a quarter with an average of about 45 minutes each. There was the inavitable cup of tea with the mayor or some other important resident. In these investigations, the farmers' association official was invaluable for almost everyone knew the representative by name and wanted to talk with him. These investigations took one to three days for each township area. After examining the data upon completing a township area, most sites were eliminated. Those villages which still seemed promising were

121 revisited for a period of three to five hours. Finally,
122 before going on to the next township, these latter sites were discussed again with senior officials who were familiar with demographic and economic details. Ten potential pairs of villages reached this level of analysis.

After completing the entire circuit surrounding Taipei and Taichung, more thorough analysis reduced the ten to a final three, one in the Taichung area and two in the Taipei area. Seven of the ten sites were eliminated solely because of the desire to minimize differences between the pairs of villages as discussed in connection with one research goal of a controlled comparison. For example, one village was considerably larger than the other; or one village was next to the river and the other was not.

We spent two full days in each of the remaining three pairs of villages. One of these was eliminated because it was too close to two communities in which many Americans resided and several of its residents were either working or had worked in American households as servants or gardeners. It was a "toss-up" between the final two. The one we selected saved a move of 100 miles and was nearest the school (1-1/2 hours) we thought best for our children.

121 All of this may falsely suggest that the community to be described in the following chapters is atypical for Taiwan. There were dozens of sites which satisfied all the specified requirements except the desire for a nearby sister village which would be identical in as many features as possible except the differences along a modern-to-traditional continuum. The presence of such a nearby village should have no effect on this current report which primarily focuses on the traditional village of the pair. Many other villages which would have served this last purpose equally well were located adjacent to even larger more sophisticated villages which contained factories and wine houses for example.

Research Methods

12 The standard methods of anthropological techniques were employed: participant-observation, mapping, census, interviews, etc. Although four key informants were developed and cultivated, at least four interviews were conducted with each adult resident of the village. Before departure, I knew and could recognize at a distance every adult and most of the children.

121 122 During the first nine months, we lived in the city of Taipei and commuted to the village. We came at different times of the day and evening and remained for various periods of time. We often stayed overnight. I rented a room (occasionally sharing it with single young

121 men) in a village house for a month at a time, each month
122 a different house. In this room I conducted some interviews but primarily it was used for writing, organizing data, rest, and sleeping. I also took most of my meals with the household in which I had a room. This technique allowed me to become an intimate part, a boarder, in several different households. People could be on their best behavior for a few days, but it proved impossible to act unnaturally for an entire month.

During the last eight months, we moved into one of the two villages, Erhlei, in a household of our own. Since the two villages had one common boundary, were both located in the same li, and the village centers were separated only by the equivalent of one and a half city blocks, the particular village location did not appear to be important. We were quite surprised at the differences resulting from our establishment of a residence in Talei
123 Li. We experienced a higher level of acceptance although we felt we had already established excellent relations. We were asked to serve in the Parent Teacher's Association and were now taxed for school and temple affairs. Although our children had visited the villages many times, they quickly established their own network of friends and associates and our son attended the local school one day a week.

124 with villagers who had migrated to the city of Taipei, about half during their visits to the village and half in their city homes.

121 Approach to the Problem

128 A key term necessarily employed frequently in this report is "role." Since the term often has been assigned a number of different meanings, I shall employ the following definition in an attempt to avoid confusion:

> As an aspect of social structure, a role may be defined as a named social position characterized by a set of (a) personal qualities and (b) activities, the set being normatively evaluated to some degree both by those in the situation and others (Sweetser, 1964:609).

This definition does not maintain the distinction between status and role originated by Linton (1936:113-4) and expanded by others (Parsons, 1951:25; Radcliffe-Brown, 1952:11), i.e., status refers to the position and role to the behavior associated with it. Nadel's argument that it is pointless to separate a rule of behavior from its application is most convincing (1957:20-44) so I have combined status and role.

Roles do not exist in isolation. To identify a single role is always to identify by implication another role with which it is engaged in interaction patterns. For example, a teacher implies a student and a parent, a child. Merton proposes that role-set be used where a status entails more than one social relationship (1957:

121 368-9). I include the concept of role-set in my definition of role for there would be few roles which would not involve several social positions. A public school teacher in American society necessarily relates to such positions as student, colleague, and principal. She also probably relates on a secondary level to parents, board members, union officials, etc.

Since this study is of a small rural village, most relationships are inclusive and serial, termed by Gluckman "multiplex" (1964). By this he means that when two people interact in a multiplex relationship, it is likely that a large number of role relationships are involved. Although roles are not synonymous with people, each person may be examined analytically as if he were a bundle of roles. The characteristics of the bundle effect role behavior as does the personality of the individual. Part of the concept of role includes the idea of a script for acting. Some scripts are very explicit and others, quite general. Each individual follows his script somewhat differently. The major role I examine in the study is that of adult female. This role can be divided analytically into narrower roles such as wife, mother, aunt, girl-friend, customer, etc. The major relationship studied is between the adult female and the adult male, the latter similarly susceptible to finer distinctions. Abstraction at the highest level, i.e., male-female relationships, is attempted

• 121 although detailed data at lower levels are provided.
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The next eight chapters contain an ethnographic description of Sanlei, a village in Taiwan, with particular emphasis on the role of women. The last chapter presents the general abstraction discussed in the above paragraph and contrasts it with an abstraction from the traditional literature. Possible reasons for the discrepancy between the two abstractions are considered and rejected in favor of the theoretical position advanced at the beginning of this chapter, i.e., the presence of a "Great Tradition" and its effects on the anthropological field worker. Implications for future research are then considered and a series of suggestions for reducing future errors are advanced.

316 464 income after only about two weeks training. Only seven Sanlei villagers are full-time miners and one of these is a dynamiter who earns a salary of $100.00 per day. A man is usually introduced to a mining job by a relative or friend who takes responsibility for his on-the-job training.

463 In addition to the miners, there are many other kinds of occupational specialists in the Talei Li area such as the barber, carpenter, mason, bicycle repairman, 463 roofer, etc. It is a misconception to consider the Chinese b 121 household as a semi-isolated self-sufficient unit. In addition to the penetrations of the government and the market, the high incidence of labor specialization restricts freedom of action for the typical householder. Throughout history, the village and its nearby market town constituted a clear example of the organic solidarity conceived by Durkheim. That is, there is a high level of labor specialization and interdependency. Each individual contributes his own special task activities, the sum total of which fulfill the needs of the collectivity as will be demonstrated.

The various kinds of occupational specialties for 463 which wages may be paid can be placed on a continuum. At 171 one end, the activity can only be performed by an expert; at the other, by anyone. For purposes of illustration, in America, only a doctor can perform operations or a lawyer,

178
423 the land and putting the money in many other kinds of investment.

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461 It is not profitable to discuss land values without
464 reference to the kind of crops and the technological sys-
121 tem employed in the community. A village can be viewed on one level as a potential labor pool. That is, all its members are capable of contributing increments of labor which vary in accordance with age and physical condition. There are few societies (if any) which maximize utility or achievement of this potential for there are always periods set aside for rest and recreation and certain individuals, particularly children, the aged, and often women, are not assigned responsibilities commensurate with their physical potential. A community seems to aim at some reasonable level of satisfaction although the target may be raised or lowered over time.

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621 At the time the clog business was introduced, San-
461 lei was an agricultural village surrounded by fields oper-
464 ating in terms of a technological system which required
182 certain inputs of man hours to manage its crops. Over
241 time, a system had developed for assigning certain individuals requisite portions of the necessary labor inputs and as expected, women, children, and old people were especially underemployed.

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241 The clog industry required adult male labor inputs
462 which tended to be drawn out of the agricultural labor
464

632 as regional basis to the competition.

628 The ideological differences between these factions
665 may be based partly on occupational factors. Sanlei's end
621 of the li has always been essentially a farming area while levels of non-agricultural employment were always higher at the other end of the li. Although the amount of available farm land per village was higher at Sanlei's end of Talei, the population of the two villages in the Erhlei faction nearly equalled the population of the three villages at the other end. Most people employed in other than farming pursuits tended to live in T'oulei or Erhlei. Currently, the li has one restaurant and two beauty operators. As would be expected, they are located in Erhlei's end of the li along with the school.

121 Sanlei and Erhlei are used as faction names because
621 the major rivalry is focused between these two villages
628 which occupy central points in the narrow valley that shapes
632 the li boundaries. Laboratory experiments with small groups
665 demonstrate that individuals occupying the most central positions in a communication pattern are most likely to be recognized as leaders (Bavelas, 1950). This process is particularly acute for a communication network structured in a straight line. Although results from laboratory experiments with small groups are not directly applicable to real, more complex situations, they do help formulate hypotheses to be tested. Although the leadership patterns

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621 in Talei Li focusing on Erhlei and Sanlei (see Figure 1)
628 are congruent with this communication theory, a decisive
632
665 test cannot be conducted with current data and variables.

621 The li elects a mayor and a representative to the
628 township council with the mayor having the higher rank.
632 In spite of the regional conflicts within the li which
666 were discussed above, there is basic recognition of the need for all to cooperate. For instance, the li will have only one mayor, one school, and one major temple. One compromise, now clearly established, is the fact that if one official of a political body is from one end of the li, then the second must be from the other. At the formal li level, this means that if the mayor is from one faction, the representative must be from the other. Campaigning and arguments are most vigorous but consensus is usually reached before the election.

It is difficult to determine how the compromise was originally established because everything was handled on an informal basis by reaching a consensus. At the time the two pao were combined into one li, each had an elected head, and in the first election, one head became the mayor and the other, the representative. In spite of the fact that the former Sanlei pao had a numerical superiority sufficient to elect its members to both positions, one official, as stated, was elected from the other pao. Almost everyone claimed that was the reasonable thing to do.

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121 **Ideological Factions in the Li**

The factions described above are based on territorial identity, i.e., competition for prestige, power, etc., between villages or combinations of villages which have persisted for an extended period of time. The use of faction in this regard is not consistent with usual anthropological analysis of local level factionalism (Nicholas, 1965:21-61; Turner, 1957; Siegal and Beals, 1960:394-417). That is, although these two units are conflicting political groups, they are corporate groups selected by residence in a community rather than by leaders relying on diverse principles (Nicholas, 1965:27-9). By analogy, each village may be viewed as a social organization like a university and the li as the Big Ten Conference in which the units cooperate in academic and athletic affairs although each is in competition with all others for prestige. The present combinations of villages are congruent with the former division into two pao which were in competition with each other for prestige. In spite of various leadership changes, it is not likely that the competition between villages will ever disappear although the combinations of villages may give way to a series of shifting alliances for the combinations based on old pao no longer have the corporate identity of the village.

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632 However, there is another pair of factions dividing the li which more closely approach the model described in

665 traditional analysis. These two factions are related
632 respectively to two definitions of the main role of the mayor. One faction favors an internal emphasis: the mayor should focus on the local community and its internal affairs and the community should be relatively isolated from the wider society. The second faction favors an external emphasis: the mayor should be a bridge between the community and the wider society by serving to increase the influence of the li in the township and other governmental or quasi-governmental units.

665 As is usual, membership in each faction is recruited
• 121 around a leadership core and by means of a variety of appeals. Nevertheless, there are a number of socio-economic factors which help to distinguish between the respective members. Comparatively, in the United States, income helps distinguish between Republicans and Democrats, but income is not an absolute criteria for such social factors as religion, race, ethnic identity, and regionalism as well as the personal history of the individual may modify any factor or combination of factors. Similarly, in Talei Li, although each faction has a general ideological basis, there are multiple factors influencing identification.

665 I have employed the label "traditional" for the fac-
632 tion favoring an internal emphasis because the kind of
121 role it favors for the mayor seems more consistent with traditional local leadership patterns. Its members believe

665 the mayor should promote internal harmony, push local
632 affairs, be a good advisor, and be chief mediator in dis-
• 121 putes. It is felt that this requires an older landowner and farmer who will be respected and heeded. The members of this faction tend to be older and engaged in agriculture. The leadership is nearly identical with those who are most active in temple affairs and draws a larger share of its membership from the Sanlei end of the li.

I have employed the label "progressive" for the faction favoring an external emphasis because the kind of role it favors for the mayor seems more modern. Its members believe the mayor should establish and maintain good relationships in town, at the farmers' association, and with various other government units. Since the leaders in most of these outside units tend to be educated, worldly, and young (under 45), a mayor with similar characteristics would be facilitated in the establishment of good relationships. As might be expected, the general membership of this faction is younger and a significant percentage are engaged in non-agricultural activities although most leaders own land.[4] Also, most leaders and a larger share of the members are from Erhlei and T'oulei.

665 At the time of the study, the mayor (li chang) was
632 from Sanlei, a sixty-two year old member of the "traditional" faction which had a slight numerical advantage in the li. The former mayor lived in Erhlei and was a member

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On one level, local politics can be seen to operate in a manner not unlike the system portrayed for a segmentary lineage system (Evans-Pritchard, 1940). In agnatic groups, the principle of segmental opposition functions such that there are a series of linked groups arranged in a hierarchal structure much like a modern organizational chart. The higher the level in the organization, the greater the number of underlying units which are connected. In any conflict or other sort of political action, one side gains support from every group to which it is linked up to the apical point which links it to the opponent's side and vice versa. As an aid to understanding, picture the form required in a formal English outline. An 'a' and a 'b' may be in conflict with each other but they unite when the '1' under which both are subsumed is in conflict with '2'; similarly, '1' and '2' drop their conflict when the 'B' under which both are subsumed is in conflict with 'A'; and so on for 'A' and 'B' when 'I' is against 'II.'

In applying this concept to Sanlei, note that there are two groups in conflict within the village, the "progressives" and the "traditionalists," although the latter is dominant. At the li level though, the whole village tends to unite and act as a single unit in opposition to other villages or to combine with the villages which once comprised one of the two former pao. Then, at the township level, Talei Li has been a member of the same regional

121 665 571 faction (discussed later in this Chapter) for several years although, as previously stated, the li leadership changed from "traditional" to "progressive" and back. The internal differences are relatively swallowed so as to present a united front at each succeeding level.

Local Officers and Procedures

632 The mayor is responsible for organizing corvee labor for civic improvement. He is also extremely influential in li-wide social and religious affairs for, although each of these has its own independent organizing committee, he is often an ex officio member and is usually an important advisor. It is helpful if the mayor has good relations in town so that political figures will be sympathetic to the community. For example, when an assessor [731] is sent from town to lower taxes in the event of a natural disaster, it is considered best if he already has positive feelings towards the village and a friendly attitude towards village leaders.

As can be seen from the above requirements, the mayor must be a persuasive man to be truly effective. Basic qualifications for office include literacy and fluency [212] [191] in Mandarin. Although there are no wealth requirements [554] for office and Talei Li has never had more than one resident whose primary income was derived from rent, no poor man such as a farm laborer has ever held a high

829 in taxes. The phrase indicates the general attitude towards the government.

Social Control

• 121 591 626 This section deals with the formal agencies of social control, the police and courts, and the quasi-formal agencies, elders and mediators. However, much of the rest of this dissertation deals directly or indirectly with informal social control. Although an individual may gain much from his membership in a social organization, he always pays the price of an acceptance of limitations on the freedom to do as he pleases. Social control comes about in part because people are dependent on one another. Two sociologists (Broom and Selznick, 1968:17) once wrote, "The way men behave is largely determined by their relations with each other and by their memberships in groups."

As is clear from the description of Sanlei Ts'un presented so far, no man is socially isolated. According to Durkheim (1897--English Translation, 1951), if an individual is tightly bound into a highly integrated group with a strong sense of solidarity, he accepts the values and norms of the group as his own. This is perhaps an ideal type not to be found in reality, but Sanlei would approach this end of an ideal continuum. Most social control is achieved by informal means of one type or another.

829 The outside agencies of control are the police, courts, and army which are all regarded as legitimate by

558 to prevent another from giving offense. Because a flat
576 no to someone by definition necessarily gives offense,
571 there are special problems in asking for a job, hiring a laborer, or extending a dinner invitation for it is necessary to do considerable hinting before a direct question is asked. When an invitation to dinner is extended formally, both parties are clearly aware that the invitation is coming and the answer will be yes. If the clues were misinterpreted, one accepts the invitation and then just does not show up. Not to show up after accepting is an insult but is not on a face-to-face basis and therefore, is not as serious. No excuse will be given later and the host will never mention it. Many dinner invitations are not extended until a few minutes before dinner. According to Chen Shao-hsing, the Chinese "yes" often has two meanings, one an affirmation, the other a polite refusal (1963:58). The closest analogy in American culture is the hiring process described by Caplow and McGee (1962) for some university positions, particularly those of higher ranks. The professor indicates he may be available while the university indicates it may have an opening. After considerable discussion, an offer may be made. However, a firm clear offer is rarely tendered without an understanding it will be accepted.

• .21 In Riesman's terms (1950), the "tradition directed"
558 social character is predominant for Sanlei with the
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121 community as the main agency of socialization and shame,
558 the psychological mechanism promoting conformity. This
571 is explored more fully in the chapter on the life cycle,
576 but elements are important for this discussion. Tradition
626 is important. Some people, particularly older ones, are considered to have such expertise with regard to cultural norms that acceptance of their authoritative interpretation of norms is frequent and natural. For example, a recently married woman wanted to go see her sister's new baby but knew there was some avoidance rule involving brides and babies. After learning from an older woman that a bride brought misfortune to a baby less than 30 days old, she willingly accepted the ruling and did not even seem disappointed. In many cases, there is this quite willing acceptance of custom for its own sake.

562] In summary, it appears that women are not significant on an overt level for social control in the contexts discussed in this chapter. They do not really participate in formal rule, politics, or most political units. Their effects are more covert. They influence men and are extremely significant in the socialization process which builds into individuals the internal mechanisms of social control.

4:Barnett E-4,5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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CHAPTER V

KINSHIP

121 602 According to Marion Levy (1967:67-83) perhaps the most significant feature of traditional China was that it was family oriented to an overwhelming degree. The family was an overriding focus for individual loyalty, the basic unit for production and consumption, and finally, the basic unit in terms of which the allocation of power and responsibility took place. Further, the family was a basic building block in larger agnatic groups. Implicit in Levy's discussion is the importance of kinship in village life.

Although kinship units in Sanlei Ts'un are a significant factor in the social life of the village, the above picture exaggerates their importance. Even Marion Levy points out (1967:69) his description is an ideal seldom approached by the peasant. Since Sanlei is a peasant village which does not contain any wealthy individuals, it would not be expected to approach the ideal. Yet, kinship groups are singularly important in village social life.

the three single men are omitted, the range in size is from 2 to 9 with an average of 5.2. The distribution of these three family types is indicated in Table 6.

Historical Changes in Family Size

Historically, there has been a steady growth in the average size of the family in Taiwan (see Table 7). There is an additional factor however, which is not revealed in the kinds of data usually presented. There is an increasing percentage of stem and extended families at the expense of nuclear families in the rural area. While the average size of the family in Sanlei Ts'un is about the same as Taiwan's overall figure, it is significant that sixty per cent of Sanlei villagers are living in households larger than the nuclear family. Several explanations for this development can be suggested.

One reason is related to a concept recently developed in a provocative article by Marion Levy which was supported mathematically by Ansley Coale (1965:1-69). Levy draws on the work of demographers who posit a demographic transition characterized by three stages: (I) high birth rate and high death rate, (II) high birth rate and low death rate, and (III) low birth rate and low death rate. Levy argues that in Stage III, the "actual" family is the nuclear type. A nuclear type is necessary because of the restraints imposed by the larger society.[4] Moreover, the "ideal" size will be congruent with the "actual" size.

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Table 7. Historical Changes in Average Family Size in Taiwan (1940 and earlier from Barclay, 1954:175; later figures from United Nations Statistical Yearbook, 1968:787)

Year	Average Size	Year	Average Size
1905	5.2	1935	5.8
1915	5.3	1940	6.0
1920	5.3	1950	6.1
1925	5.5	1960	6.1
1930	5.7	1965	6.3

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In Stage I however, the "ideal" type may be any form with a tendency towards something larger than a nuclear unit but because of the high death rate, there will be few families which achieve this "ideal." The biological facts alone are sufficient to prevent its achievement. Thus, a vast majority of the "actual" families in a Stage I society will be nuclear no matter what the "ideal" may specify. Coale (1965:65-69) created a computer simulation model of family cycles with all conditions set to maximize achievement of unilineal extended families in a Stage I society, i.e., families would not divide unless both members in the senior generation were dead. Yet, these conditions only created an average family size of 7 while the average for an "ideal" of nuclear families under the same conditions was 4. Since we know that families do divide for a number of other reasons, even this figure would be rarely realized.

However, it is Stage II, the transitional stage, which is of most interest in this paper. In Stage II, the mortality rates are changing such that they would now

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

permit the "ideal" to be achieved biologically. Yet, there will now be pressure for a change in the "ideal" size[5] towards a nuclear family because other conditions are approaching congruence with those of a Stage III society. In any case, we would expect both an increase in the average family size and an increase in the percentage of families that approach the "ideal" form in a Stage II society.

The above argument will be applied to Taiwan. The data in Table 2 clearly indicates that 60 years ago, Taiwan was a Stage I society, possessing both a high birth rate and a high death rate. Furthermore, they also indicate that Taiwan slowly changed to a Stage II society, which was achieved after World War II because of the falling death rate. Finally, Taiwan now appears to be moving towards Stage III as indicated by the falling birth rate. The figures in Table 7 indicate that the average size of the family steadily increased with the changes in stages as Levy's theory would predict. Moreover, Sanlei now has its highest percentage of families larger than the nuclear type: stem and extended forms total 50% of the families in Sanlei.

However, there are two other possible explanations for the current growing family size and high rates of families larger than the nuclear form. In a study of Hsin Hsing village on Taiwan's West Central Plain, Gallin

(1966) found that only 40% of the families were larger than the nuclear type. In both Sanlei and Hsin Hsing there was pressure on the land although the availability of yet undeveloped mountain near Sanlei meant less pressure. Additionally, the growth in population (associated with the falling death rate) meant that some people were forced to seek employment outside the village in both communities. In Hsin Hsing, it is often necessary to migrate to the city for a job (Gallin, 1966:210). However, the availability of work in the mines and the availability of work in the city within community distance means a man can work outside but continue residence in Sanlei Ts'un. For example, the extended family of Chiu Yung-man which is diagramed in Figure 6 includes four adult males although the family land holdings are not sufficient to support the entire group. The old man (1), is a full-time farmer although he has withdrawn to a large degree because of his advancing age. His oldest son (2), works about 80% of the time on the family farm and 20% in the family store run by his wife (3). The second son (4) works about half the time on the family farm and half the time in the coal mine. The third son (5), who is a full-time truck driver at a lumber yard in Taipei, commuting daily, rarely assists with farm activities. The family farm requires male labor inputs totaling about the equivalent of two full-time adult males and could support their respective elementary

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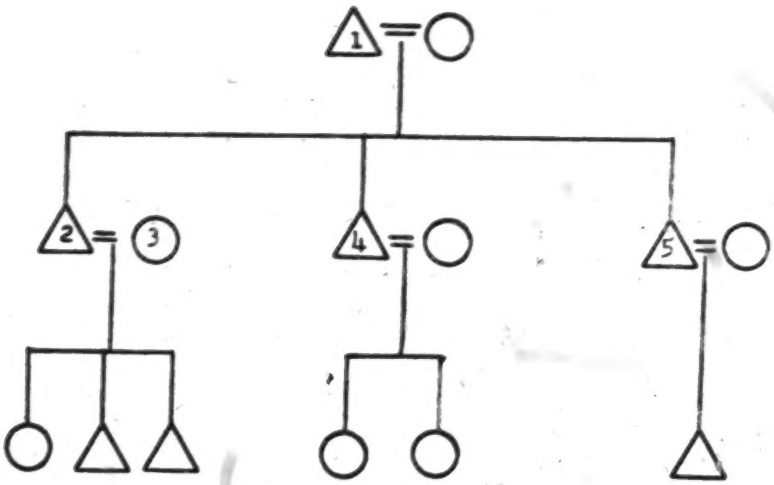

Figure 6. Kinship Diagram, Chiu Yung-man Chia.

121 families. However, the other employment opportunities
178 locally available allow this extended unit to continue
596 living in a single household. On the other hand, in Hsin Hsing, it is likely that the youngest son would have had to move to Taipei for work. His wife might not have moved with him, but given the fact that three adult males still meant too much pressure on the land, and that he had obtained a steady job with good wages, she would probably have joined him before long.

121 The final possible explanation is based on the im-
59 proving financial conditions in Taiwan.[6] Most accounts
178 of the Chinese family stress that the large form is related to economic well-being (Hsu, 1967:7; Fei, 1939:29, C. K.

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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121 Yang, 1959a:9, Lang, 1946:16). It may well be that neither the biological explanation nor the convenience of job opportunities are relevant for if the theories about economic improvement are correct, they may be a sufficient explanation.[7]

There are few longitudinal studies of Chinese communities. Gallin found a significant increase in material possessions in Hsin Hsing between the original study of 1958-9 and the restudy of 1966 (verbal communication). The strength of the theory could be examined by looking at the present distribution of family types in Hsin Hsing. There are suggestions that the theory of increasing financial well-being has merit for the increasing size of the family (Table 7) corresponds with economic improvement as well as demographic changes. The final support for this explanation comes from the neighboring village of Erhlei which was studied by my wife. In comparison with Sanlei, Erhlei is more prosperous although the average net worth of each family is less (reflecting the smaller investment in land), houses and material goods are richer and monthly income is higher. In both villages the demographic rates would have changed at about the same rate although Erhlei is making use of modern Western medical treatment to a greater extent than Sanlei. As the theory would predict, the average size of the family in Erhlei is higher and additionally, there is a higher percentage of families

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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• 121 178 59 larger than the nuclear unit. In another recent study of a prosperous Hakka community in Taiwan, Cohen found an average family size of 10.9 and 55% of the families were larger than the nuclear form (1969:161-180).

The above discussion of the family is basically a "static" one, a snapshot of Sanlei at a given moment in time. Even the discussion of changes over time is essentially "static" because it merely describes and attempts to understand the differences in two or more distributions of family types distinguished by time. Such a description of the incidence and classification of domestic forms is fairly standard in most ethnographies and has been called by Buchler and Selby (1968:48), the "Statistical Approach." They further suggest (1968:52-8) it is necessary to provide a "Diachronic Approach" in analysis which focuses upon the total process of development and change in domestic units. Although often omitted, such analysis is growing in importance and appearing more frequently in ethnographies (Fortes, 1949; Mitchell, 1956; Hammel, 1961). Some of the impetus for these studies comes out of sociological studies of the American family under the heading, "life cycle of the family." There are only a few studies of the life cycle of the Chinese family (Morioka, 1967:595-606; Fukutake, 1967:13-24). The life cycle of the Sanlei family, a "moving picture" so to speak, will be discussed later in this chapter after the

121 explication of jural rules, ideal patterns, and strategies
178 to achieve goals.
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Family Surnames

551 The various surnames in Sanlei are indicated in
621 Table 8. As previously stated, Sanlei was founded essentially as a single surname family and the major surname, Liao, continues to be dominant in both number of representatives and socio-political affairs. Counting married women as if they retained their maiden names, 180 people of the 409 in the village (over 44%) are surnamed Liao. Only 34 people (just over 8%) have the second most popular surname (see Table 8).

As can be seen in Table 8, the Liao are even more strongly represented among the chia chang (nearly 55%) than they are in the village overall. Eliminating married women's maiden names, i.e., counting them in terms of their married names, would result in an even greater percentage of Liao surnames (over 50%). Moreover, many surnames other than Liao are connected in some manner to a Liao family. For example, one chia chang named Chien moved to Sanlei some years after his eldest son married a Liao girl from the village and one chia chang named Lin is living with a Liao widow in her house as a common-law husband.

the Sanlei family will inevitably divide into the three units described above, i.e., (2,5), (3,6), and (4).

The major original defining characteristic of the household (hu) was those who cook and eat together. Family division frequently appears to revolve around this function. It would appear that if a household divided in half, the two new units could cook and eat separately but continue to share a single stove, but this never occurs. A new stove must be constructed; hopefully, the stove will be in a separate room but if space is not available, a second stove will be built in the original kitchen. Each new household will then share the kitchen but use their own stove. A popular method of referring to family division is to call it "the separation of the stove" (see Glossary C). To refer back to the previous discussion, in a divided family with the old folks alive, they will never have a separate stove. They either eat in turn with each new unit or eat regularly with one unit while the others contribute food.

Basis for a Diachronic Approach to the Family

The foregoing has provided both a static view of the distribution of family types in the village and an explanation of various mechanisms which affect its membership and existence: birth, marriage, adoption, and division. I now propose a dynamic view of the family life cycle designed to reveal the major patterns in the village. In other

• 121 words, rather than a series of snapshots, there is an at-
182 tempt to provide a moving picture. This mode of analysis
602 draws heavily on the concepts presented by Buchler and
59 Selby (1968:52-58) which combine both jural rules and statistics. Built into the analysis are the constraints of demographic factors, specifically birth rates, death rates, and age at marriage.

Although the number of stages in the life cycles of families identified in various societies differ considerably,[10] Fortes (1962:2-5) has suggested that the developmental cycle in the domestic group may follow the general paradigm listed below:

1. Phase of Expansion: Offspring are economically, effectively, and jurally dependent on their parents.
2. Phase of Dispersion or Fission: Marriage of the first child until marriage of the last.
3. Phase of Replacement: Until death of both parents.

This general paradigm will be followed for Sanlei village without any attempts at further proliferation of stages.

Postulates Affecting the Family Life Cycle

Additionally, I have derived the following set of what might be called a combination of rules, beliefs, and cultural values bearing on the family which must be taken into consideration in the analysis of family life cycle patterns in Sanlei village. There is no attempt to be

121 182 602 59 complete, let alone exhaustive, as my selective criteria were merely based on those items that seemed immediately necessary for the analysis. A label under which they can all be subsumed is not at my command, but they are similar to what have been labeled postulates (Hsu, 1969; Hoebel, 1960). The truth of these items would be generally accepted by most villagers. (The exceptions are illustrated later.) The items will hereafter be identifed only by a number in parentheses.

[769] (1) It is necessary that a family obtain descendants to carry on worship of the ancestors. Worship of ancestors should be specific for approximately five generations above the oldest living member but may be general beyond that.

[769] [562] (2) Worship of an ancestor is best performed by a male with the same surname.

[611] (3) Descent is patrilineal and surnames are obtained from a child's father.

[424] (4) Males may assign their rights to give children their surnames to others.

[597] (5) An adopted child is almost the equivalent of a natural child.

[596] (6) The large extended family, ta chia ting, is best economically, morally, and ritually.

[577] (7) Relations should be harmonious within a household.

[578] (8) The larger the group the more likely there will be disharmony.

(9) The individual is subordinate to the family of which he is a part.

(10) Nevertheless, each person is an individual with his own personal qualities and idiosyncracies and rules for behavior must be flexible so he can meet them.

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(11) Respect and obedience are due from younger generations to older generations.

[561] (12) Respect and obedience are due from younger people to older people but in lesser amounts than that due between generations.

[562] (13) Respect and obedience are due from females to males.

[602] (14) People who are related consanguineally can maintain more harmonious relations than people who are not related.

[602] (15) People who are related affinally can maintain more harmonious relations than people who are not related at all.

[578] [562] (16) Females naturally have more quarrels with other females than do males with males.

[737] (17) It is the responsibility of an individual's descendants to care for him in his old age and having descendants is the only protection for old age.

[887] (18) Both a child and a person beyond age sixty are something less than a mature and responsible adult and not capable of properly representing the family or making the best decisions.

A preliminary analysis quickly reveals that some of these items are in direct conflict with others and that operationally, some principles may be in conflict with others. Moreover, the ranking of the items is not fixed or clear. For example, there is no conflict generated in terms of (11), (12), and (13) when a grandfather interacts with his granddaughter. However, there is conflict for the same items in the case of a woman and her son-in-law, i.e., (11) and (12) declare her superordinate and (13) subordinate. This latter example may indicate why there are more conflicts in a household containing an adopted-in husband.

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

121 182 606 59 As indicated in Figure 10, in the case of the regular marriage, the relationships between the senior generation and the incoming spouse are consistent or neutral in assignment of subordination in terms of (11), (12), and (13). Conversely, for the adopted-in husband household, there is a conflict in the same rules as previously specified, with reference to the relationship between mother-in-law and son-in-law. This latter case could also occur between mother and son in the regular household but several years of living together when the son was extremely dependent would probably have produced an adjustment.

121 182 888 51 Another item, (18), produces another kind of disagreement. There is a belief for example that a man older than sixty should withdraw from active control of his family and turn management over to his son who is now capable of better decisions (18). In the same conversation, villagers will claim that vigorous men over 60 are the best office holders and mediators for they have the experience to make the wisest decisions.

Family Life Cycles

182 59 The above postulates are combined with the analytical techniques explained in the previous section to illustrate the family cycle in Sanlei Ts'un. For simplification, assume the starting unit is a young married couple living alone in a single village household. Although this

TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 289

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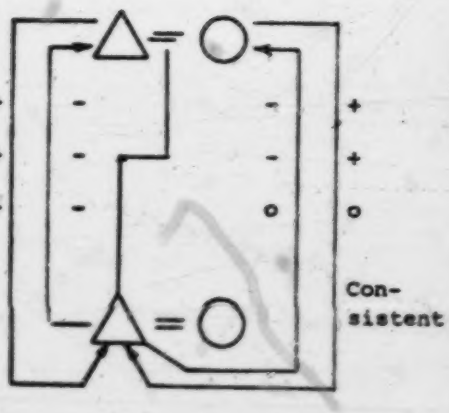
(Items or Postulates)

11 - Between Generations + - - +

12 - Between Age Levels + - - +

13 - Between Sexes + - o o

Summary: Consistent Consistent



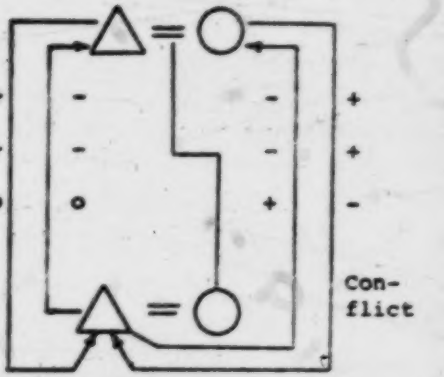
REGULAR MARRIAGE

11 - Between Generations + - - +

12 - Between Age Levels + - - +

13 - Between Sexes o o + -

Summary Consistent Conflict



ADOPTED-IN HUSBAND MARRIAGE

Note: Arrowed lines indicate a social relationship which may be characterized by superordination (+), subordination (-), or be neutral (o) with respect to the three items listed on page 287 and summarized briefly above. Only in the adopted-in husband household do these three rules create conflict.

Figure 10. Relations Between Parents and Child's Spouse by Sex

182 necessary to maintain an extended family. These processes
183 are a rational application of permitted alternatives to
59 achieve culturally defined goals.

The improvement of economic conditions, the rapidly changing demographic rates, and the changing values originating from the larger modernizing society are undoubtedly going to change the typical family life cycles previously described.

The Basis of Extra-Familial Kinship Organizations

121 Families are building blocks in the larger kinship
618 units, the clan and the tsu (lineage). The clan consists
613 of people who have the same surname and are therefore assumed to have descended from the same ancestor although the genealogical details are unknown. Fried (1957; 1966) has referred to this assumption as "stipulated descent" and contrasted it with the foundation for the lineage, "demonstrated descent," where the exact details of genealogical connections are known. There are a number of border situations found in Sanlei Ts'un which are difficult to place in either category.

618 Usually a surname was said to be established by some particular historical individual from whom generations are numbered such that most people know the number of their own generation. It is assumed then that although two individuals with the same surname may not know which is the most recent generational ancestor they share, i.e., eighth

602 first fang refers to the descendants of the oldest brother.
769 There was originally a process of fission into five fang. The man who visiting the mainland managed to fuse three of the five into this one ritual unit which does not have a distinct classification, although acting as a corporate group. The basis for the fusion merely seemed to be the willingness to contribute labor and money to build the elaborate tomb. Although individuals continue to keep track of the separate fang, this combination of three is the only large ritual kinship unit in the village. The members (descendants) gather once each year to clean the grave and worship, a process consuming about four to five hours.

The Compound

• 121 596 In a discussion of the varieties of forms lineage organizations assume in Southeastern China, Freedman (1958: 131-3) creates a continuum with ideal types A at one end and Z at the other. Z is large (2000 to 3000 members), rich, segmented, and heterogeneous in reference to the social class of its members while A is small (200 to 300 members), poor, and relatively homogeneous. The only agnatic groups larger than a single family in Sanlei (other than the combination of three fang described above) which regularly function as units and which own property in common are smaller than the A model at one end of the

121 596 continuum described by Freedman or even those found by Gallin in Hsin Hsing (1966). Rather, they are closely similar in form and function to those described for a Hakka community in South Taiwan by Cohen (1969:167-182) although land owned by a lineage segment and rotated among members is extremely rare in Sanlei. This agnatic unit which owns a piece of property in common (a kung t'ing) approximately fits Freedman's definition of a compound: an agnatic group which "although occupying one set of dwellings, is or may be subdivided into distinct kitchen and property-owning groups" (1958:36-7). The separate chia (family) or hu (household) were all related agnatically but the relationships were variable. Each member chia had its own chia chang (head) and the senior chia chang with respect to generation and age was the head of the compound although his rights and duties in this connection were minimal.

121 769 596 Worship in the compound in Sanlei is not like that described by Gallin (1966:239) nor Freedman (1958:56-58) since both distinguished the domestic worship of ancestors from the worship by higher-level agnatic groupings. After pointing out the above, Cohen (1969:170) describes a merging of domestic and compound worship in the single kung t'ing for each compound in the Hakka village which would apply equally well to Sanlei. No family in Sanlei which was part of a compound maintained the separate worship

area for its own most recent ancestors as described by Gallin (1966:239) for Hsin Hsing.

In contrast to many other reports, in Sanlei the central unifying element in worship is the hsiang lu, ancestor's pot or censer, rather than the ancestor's tablets. This difference is explored more fully in Chapter VI but introduction of the fact is necessary to the current discussion. The basis for membership in a compound is problematical, but certainly involves an agnatic relationship. However, there are other potential members of the compound, some with even better credentials for membership, who live and worship elsewhere. Cadet branches which are established in another living unit may return for common worship for a number of years, to be ended only with the endowment of a new ancestor's pot by carrying ashes from the original pot in a red paper envelope from the old kung t'ing to the new one.

A single Liao "compound" is illustrated in Figure 12. One part of the diagram consists of a kinship diagram of the descendants of Liao Chin-I, but omits those who are dead, adopted-out, married-out, or moved away except when necessary to indicate genealogical connections. Currently, there are six legal and actual hu (households). Each hu is a nuclear unit, indicated with a letter, i.e., A. B, etc., and with its respective chia chang (head) indicated by cross-hatching. The second part of the diagram is a

TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 307

conversation, most repetitions of the story liberally sprinkled with "we" and "they."

The Temple versus an Ancestral Hall

In a discussion of the significance of ancestral hall associations in Chinese village life, Freedman (1958: 1966) reports they constitute dominant structural features of many communities in Southeastern China from whence the majority of Sanlei residents migrated. He also points out there are other kinds of social organizations in local communities such as voluntary associations (1958:92-5). Hsiao Kung-chuan (1960:278) contrasted a village dominated by an ancestral hall association with another village dominated by a temple association and suggested the two kinds of organizations may be alternative structures fulfilling identical functions. Topley (1968:19) argues that seldom would a village have both an active temple organization and an active ancestral hall association for such would likely lead to much disharmony. She suspects that both "ancestral hall and temple organizations must have been alternative forms for controlling village affairs--the one being based on mono-lineage villages," although the literature does not always relate the temple organization to village composition in kinship terms (1968:19).

On one level, Sanlei constituted an ideal situation for the establishment of a strong lineage village. Since the migrants who founded Sanlei came from an area of China

121 182 613 621 794 noted for its single lineage villages, there was considerable previous experience with lineage structures and, as noted previously, the home village on the mainland had a large ancestral hall association. Moreover, there was a single surname, Liao, which encompassed almost all residents in the early history of the community and still predominates. In spite of these facts, a community temple association evolved rather than a strong lineage organization. I suggest the arguments advanced by Pasternak (1969:551-61) concerning the role of the frontier in lineage development are more cogent than Freedman's contention that the frontier is a stimulous to lineage development (1966:163-4). In essence, Pasternak claims that the frontier required such "extensive cooperation for purposes of defense and environmental exploitation among unrelated family and lineage fragments" (1969:560-1) that lineages would not develop and become strong.

Sanlei data support Pasternak's position. Sanlei village was established in an area occupied by hostile aborigines who attacked so frequently, it was necessary to build a wall around the village and mount a regular guard. Developing the land also required cooperative work in terracing and irrigation. Any tendencies towards fragmentation such as the development of lineages would have been dysfunctional for it was necessary that the entire community perform as a unit to achieve success.

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

121 In fairness to Freedman, he also posits (1966:160) as
182 contributing factors, the "extent of irrigation" and "the
613 degree to which land is held in joint ownership", neither
621 of which were significant in Sanlei.
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Pasternak (1969:561) suggests that "only when the primitive and hostile conditions of the frontier have been somewhat ameliorated" that localized lineages may appear. Although the conditions in Sanlei have long since been peaceful, localized lineages have not emerged. The temple organization which developed out of the entire community on a cooperative basis has been successful, serves as a source of community pride as well as a community focus, and has continually enfolded each new resident into its structure. I suggest that the original frontier conditions inhibited development of a strong lineage. Creation of a community temple might be considered an historical accident, but once a social unit developed around it, the presence of the temple would continue to inhibit development of lineage organization and ancestral halls. The Liao brothers who enjoyed considerable financial success with the meat-canning factory in Taipei could easily have endowed an ancestral hall in the village, but instead, they made an equivalent contribution to the village temple and are now honored with plaques on the temple wall. I suspect that unless great changes occur such as the establishment of significant class differences in Sanlei, strong lineage organizations will never develop in the

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village, especially in light of the fact that long-established lineages are disappearing throughout Taiwan.

Women's Work Groups

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There are various work activities performed by women: some as a member of a team, some individually but in the company of others, and some as isolates working alone. Many of the work groups have existed with the same membership for many years. In general, most work groups are organized on an age basis which rarely exceeds a period of a few years.

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Six days a week women wash, sometimes seven. There are three major washing locations in Sanlei Ts'un: one at the previously described artificial pond and the other two in the river, one close and convenient to the village center and the other upstream a distance across a narrow bridge. Some people wash in the morning and some in the afternoon, each wash requiring an hour or more of labor. Each woman is responsible for her own washing although occasionally, a woman will wash for a fee which goes into the regular family pool. Although some women wash individually, many wash in social groups although each person does her own. People frequently evaluate a woman's ability as a housekeeper on the basis of the cleanliness of her wash. While washing, there is considerable latitude for conversation, and although the women themselves are not consciously aware of the constraints of the pattern, there are seven regular washing groups, membership from day to

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

CHAPTER VII

RELIGION

The significance of religion in Chinese social life has often been undervalued in the conventional analyses. In one of the first assignments in my formal university study of China, a noted sinologist had written:

> The Chinese have been less concerned with the world of the supernatural than with the worlds of nature and of man. They are not a people for whom religious ideas and activities constitute an all-important and absorbing part of life . . . (Bodde, 1951:18).

Reischauer and Fairbank, in a classic work (1960:30), add that Confucianism was a "great ethical institution, which in a sense occupied in China much of the place filled by both law and religion in the West . . ." A similar thread of the insignificance of religion is woven throughout the accounts of Western scholars and is even more strongly a part of the literature of modern Chinese intellectuals (C. K. Yang, 1961:4).

The attitudes towards religion and the observances of religious rites and rituals found in Sanlei Ts'un would not support the above positions. I do not believe that Sanlei Ts'un is unique in its strong emphasis on religion as compared with other Chinese villages, i.e., I believe

• 121 most Chinese villages have a strong emphasis on religion. 771 I discuss below four primary reasons for this discrepancy between published accounts of its non-importance and the actual practice.

The first reason is identical to one contributing to the errors in interpretation of the role of women, the problem focus of this dissertation. In accordance with the concepts of Redfield (1956), every civilization has a "Great Tradition" found predominantly among the educated elite which is contrasted with a "Little Tradition" or series of "Little Traditions" found among the masses. The relationships between the two levels are problematical although almost all of the classical literature and historical records in China are devoted to the bearers of the "Great Tradition." In other terms, this has been succinctly stated by Reischauer and Fairbank:

> The common people who formed the mass of Chinese society did not bulk large in the cultural record, which has come down to us chiefly from the brushes of scholar-officials. Most Chinese were neither scholars nor Confucian gentlemen, and had very little, if anything, to do with officialdom. For the common people, Taoism and Buddhism still supplied the principle explanations of the cosmos and the family and village still were the focus of everyday living. But it is not yet possible to reconstruct with verisimilitude the daily life of the average Chinese villager in the pre-modern centuries. What we know most about is the educated, urban upper classes . . . (1960:383).

In respect to the practice of religion, it appears there is a significant difference between the elite and the masses. At least, even on Taiwan today, great differences

• 121 771 can be found between the religion of the masses, particularly in rural areas, and that of college-educated urban dwellers.

A second reason is due to a great difference in the structure of the typical Western as opposed to Chinese religion. C. K. Yang has discussed this difference on a structural-functional basis as the differences between "institutionalized" and "diffused" religion:

> In institutional religion, the theology, the organization of personnel, and the cultic symbols and practices are separate from the secular social institutions, thus making religion an independent social institution. In diffused religion, these factors have no separate institutional existence but are diffused into the concept and structure of several different institutions. In Nanching and in Chinese society as a whole, diffused religion represented the structurally stronger and more pervasive force in the lives of the common people (1965:192-3).

Western religion tends to be highly institutionalized as opposed to the strongly diffused Chinese pattern. An institutionalized religion is much more obvious to the cross-cultural observer. It will be demonstrated that religion in Sanlei Ts'un is diffused into many different aspects of social life as has been described in most ethnographic accounts of Chinese villages.

The third reason, also related to the difficulty of the Westerner in understanding Chinese religion and appraising its role in society, is due to the eclectic nature of religion in China. Eclecticism refers to the fact that Chinese religion is made up of elements from many

• 121 different sources including both Great and Little Traditions and also, that the Chinese are non-exclusive with reference to a commitment to a particular religion. It is not only possible to believe in two conflicting ideologies, it may well be prudent as I shall illustrate.[1] When exposed to a new religion, an individual may ask two central questions: (1) Is it the one true religion? (2) Should I become a believer? Man can never be certain of the answer to the first question but he does have control over his actions relating to the second. If the answer to the first question is no (the new religion is false), then the answer to the second is irrelevant (believing or not believing). However, if the answer to the first question is true (the new religion is the one true religion), then the answer to the second is crucial: a man can be a believer in the one true religion and be rewarded; or he can be a non-believer in the one true religion and be punished. Therefore since man has control over only one of the two questions, it is prudent to answer it in only one profitable way--be a believer.[2]

The above rational process could be applied to a series of individual beliefs or constellation of beliefs and in each case the outcome would be the same: become a believer. On several occasions, villagers asked how to be a Christian or perform Christian ritual. They had heard of Christianity and would like to add it to their belief

121 systems.
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If a man were to apply the above approach to a series of beliefs, he would be required to accept and internalize some beliefs which are in direct conflict with others. This does not seem to present the problems it might require of a man socialized in terms of Western culture. That is, there does not seem to be the same strong drive for belief consistency, i.e., construction of what has been termed an integrated personality. Francis L. K. Hsu (1953; 1963) has characterized the Chinese personality as "situation-centered" by which he means that a Chinese reacts to his world as if it were compartmentalized; he possesses a segmented personality. "Principles which are correct for one set of circumstances may not be appropriate for another at all, but the principles in each case are equally honorable. In fact, the good Chinese tends to have multiple standards" (1963:2). "The individual feels no resentment against conforming and no compunction about behaving differently under contrasting sets of circumstances" (1963:2). This great difference in approach has seemingly confused Western scholars.

A man who repeatedly offers one opinion, then changes it to the opposite side and then again reverts to the original position is labeled "insincere" according to Western principles. Liao P'o-li, the forty-two year old son of the man who headed the largest extended family in

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121 Sanlei, told me on many different occasions that he did
391 not believe in ghosts or evil spirits. Nevertheless, I
395 saw him make sacrifices of propitiation to ghosts and evil
181 spirits and after an accidental death in Erhlei, he refused
156 to come alone to my house to chat as long as he had to pass the body which was laid out in the courtyard. He said he was afraid of the evil spirits which were sure to be lurking near the body. When I argued that he claimed he did not believe in spirits and ghosts, he told me not to be foolish and he would not come until the body was buried. Liao P'o-li was a sincere man who did not believe in spirits in one set of circumstances but did believe in spirits in another. He will continue to oscillate between
121 these positions as situations change. I believe the West-
391 ern scholar is incorrect if he labels China irreligious on the basis of this process. Even though an informant may tell him, "We do not really believe these religious things," the researcher should observe his activities and apply a behavioral yardstick to accurately assess the informant's attitudes.

The fourth and final reason is due to a Western distinction between religion on the one hand and magic or superstition on the other. Gallin points out (1966:232) there is "so complete a mixture of religious and magical belief [in the village he studied] that it is often difficult to determine where one form ends and another begins"

but such an objective approach has not always been realized. Many of the earliest Western studies were by Christian missionaries, a group not likely to be unbiased with regard to reports on religion. In one of the best known nineteenth century rural studies, Arthur Smith (1899:343) argued that the Chinese neglected the spiritual nature. Modern sinologists treat magic and religion as a single loose system (Gallin, 1966:232) or a complex of attitudes and beliefs (Kulp, 1952:284). The former separation of magic from religion and then labeling most items as magic and thereby superstition is not reasonable as a basis for declaring that religion is not important in China. C. K. Yang claims that because of the large numbers of magical practices and beliefs to be found in the study of Chinese religion which carry no ethical connotations:

> . . . The Chinese people were generally regarded as a superstitious lot who had yet to experience an ethico-religious life of a higher order. This view was most familiar to the Western world, as it was popularized for over a century by Western missionaries who found this situation to be wholly incompatible with the Christian faith and took it as the most convincing justification for their evangelical zeal (1961:3).

In this chapter, I will demonstrate that religion is very important in Sanlei village. There are few households in the village in which a religious act is not performed at least twice each day. Religion is used to bolster the family and the larger kinship organizations. Religious observances legitimize and mark key steps in the

life cycle. Religion supports the previously described sworn brothers and god's associations. The village temple and major religious events also support relationships with other communities. Finally, religious beliefs affect many aspects of daily life.

The Main Village Temple

The most important building in Sanlei Ts'un is the village temple which is ornate and well-maintained inside and out, the largest, cleanest, and most imposing structure in the village. This building is the social center of the village for in addition to its religious functions, it is a meeting hall, a recreation center, a study center for children, and the focal point for visitors and much community pride is derived from the prestige associated with the temple. The temple is important for the performance of religious rites but not as important as the home, at least on a quantitative basis, although the temple is considered to rank higher in the religious hierarchy than the home as a worship center. Temples are also rated hierarchically and in local opinion, the one in Erhlei is ranked higher than the one in Sanlei while both rank below a major temple in Hsin Tien. The temple is usually a significant part of the major calendrical religious rites as well as many of the periodic (non-calendrical) community religious events. On a personal level, many individuals consult the temple gods as needed while other individuals may worship daily,

4:Barnett E-4,5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

121 562 79b I have argued that females are not as inferior to men as claimed in much of the traditional literature (see Chapter X). On the spiritual plane, which as mentioned partially mirrors the structure of Imperial China's political organization, female gods hold commanding positions and rank above a great many male gods.

Temple Events

79b Each year, there are two major religious events celebrated in the temple, the Matsu procession and Lunar New Year (see Chapter IX). In many years there is also an additional major special event, i.e., not regular periodic. There have been three extra events in the past five years such as the "Fire Purification Ceremony" (discussed in the latter part of this chapter). There is nearly 100% participation in major events, each of which usually lasts more than one day and features elaborate hired entertainment, hired religious specialists, dinner and entertainment parties, food and money sacrifices at the temple and at home, and individual and kinship unit worship.

There are seven or eight minor religious events during each year (see Chapter IX) which are celebrated in a manner not unlike the above major events but much less elaborately. The extent of participation is less and sacrifices are smaller. We collected lists of affairs in which each family participated by household and in only

648 769 Hsiang Lu (Censer) versus Shen Wei (Ancestor Tablet)

Although ancestral tablets are common throughout China, they are relatively rare in Sanlei Ts'un as a direct result of the Japanese occupation. Many tablets were destroyed along with the houses when pacifying the bandits and others were individually destroyed later in a deliberate Japanization process as part of an attempt to destroy any continued roots to Mainland China. The lack of tablets has had little effect on ancestor worship for Sanlei data suggest the hsiang lu (ancestral incense pot) may be more important for ancestor worship than the ancestor tablets.

• 12.1 769 On this point, the literature is somewhat vague. Although the ancestor cult and rituals have been described many times, the concentration has usually been on the shen wei (ancestor or soul tablets) rather than the hsiang lu. Many accounts of ancestral worship specifically note that there are no shen wei, but conversely, no account seems to note the absence of the hsiang lu although some do not mention it in the description of a worship activity. Gallin emphasizes the presence of the god's statues and ancestral [775] tablets in the kung t'ing (1966:239). He also lists the incense receptacles in a list of other items (op. cit.) but in another section (1966:220) claims that one of the three ancestral spirits lives in the incense pot in the ancestral-worship room[6] which suggests the censer is necessary. Martin Yang's description of ancestral worship in Shantung

• 12] includes an incense pot but no ancestral tablets (1945:93). 709 Instead there is a general scroll on the wall to represent the ancestors. Hu (1948:32) notes that many people had no tablets, merely writing ancestor's names on pieces of paper and burning them in worship. Freedman remarks on the frequent absence of tablets in Hong Kong households (1958:83). In a general religious account, C. K. Yang (1961:39) also emphasizes the importance of tablets but claims that the simplest form of worship to ancestors might consist of the daily burning of incense to a symbol of the spirit "which was usually a wooden tablet or a portrait." Hsu states that every house in West Town has a household shrine (1967: 50) and that in every shrine there are two incense burners, one for ancestors and one for gods (1967:184). However, he also states that not every house has tablets; often there is only a large scroll (1967:184). Lang, too, discovered in a survey that worship of ancestors was performed by burning incense before either a tablet or a photograph (1946:162). She also cites an example of a retired official who worshipped ancestors after merely writing their names on a piece of paper (1946:163). Since these authors have not generally considered the direct significance of ancestral tablets versus the censer, the question can not be definitively answered at this time.

[728] My own data on the above point, both from Sanlei Ts'un and the City of Taipei,[7] reveals that the censers

121 769 778 but not the tablets are vital. That is, I viewed many shrines that did not have tablets, but every shrine had at least one censer and often had two or more. In place of the tablets, there may be nothing but quite often, there was the shou scroll which features 100 classical variations of the character shou (long life) or alternatively, a scroll with one large shou character in red.

769 In Sanlei, most shrines have at least two censers: one for gods and the other for ancestors. Each ancestral censer has a name, the family surname. Ancestral censers always have handles which villagers call erh tsu which means ears although alternative definitions of the word (Mathews, 1963:245-6) include ear, handle, and grandson of a great-great-grandson, certainly representing a long line of descendants. The censer contains the residue (ash) of burning incense sticks. It can be cleaned only on regular occasions with due reverence and is never fully emptied. It is believed thereby that the ash extends back to the first worship of the founder of the line. When a new worship center is established after a family division, the new censer will be endowed with some ash from the old censer (transferred from house to house in a red envelope) so that each censer maintains continuity with the past. If tablets are destroyed, new ones can be made. If the ash is lost--it is lost forever and misfortune is certain unless some can be obtained from the worship center of a cadet branch

769 of the family.

The censer also possesses a quantity of spiritual essence, i.e., it is a repository of part of the ancestor's souls. Therefore, it can not be touched by an outsider and in parts of Taiwan, may be hidden from view (Thelin and Li, 1963). In Sanlei, if there are two censers with different surnames in a single shrine they will be separated by a barrier so they can not "see" each other. Villagers universally claim that ancestors with different surnames fight.

In the discussion of compounds in Chapter V, I pointed out that many households had more than one censer. Moreover, some censers do not belong, i.e., according to the Great Tradition, the only pots in a household should be those of patrilineal ancestors of the head of the household. Sometimes, as noted, a wife brings her family ancestral pot and in at least one case, no living member of a household knows where a particular censer came from.

121 769 Once more, because of the lack of specific information in the literature, it is impossible to ascertain if Sanlei is normal or deviant as compared with other Chinese villages in this regard. The closest comparison derives from a paper delivered by Professor Robert Smith at an Alpha Kappa Delta meeting at Michigan State University. [111] Professor Smith noted that ancestral shrines in Japan

• 121 769 [171] (which in many respects are similar to Chinese shrines) are only supposed to contain patrilineal ancestors of the household head. However, in spite of the fact the heads of households he surveyed claimed that only proper tablets were in their shrines, Smith discovered (by physically examining the actual tablets) many tablets which did not belong, i.e., affinal relatives. A similar kind of actual check of tablets and censers in Taiwan might provide similar kinds of results, i.e., deviance from the Great Tradition in the direction suggested by the Sanlei data.

Professor Smith's report also supports the argument I advanced in Chapter I, i.e., the Great Tradition strongly influences anthropologists and indigenous members of the society as well. As far as I know (my familiarity with the Japanese sources is limited), Smith's account was the first to note that many ancestral tablets were "falsely" located in various shrines. His discovery was easily accomplished by merely going around and counting tablets, but it was not easily accomplished in the sense that a belief which he previously had internalized had to be questioned and overcome (see Chapter I and Chapter X).

Worship Units

782 592 The significant worship unit is the individual but he often acts as a representative of a family for family units rarely perform a religious act collectively. Instead,

CHAPTER VIII

THE LIFE CYCLE

• 121 Although the most general patterns will be abstracted below, it must be made patent that there is great variability in the life histories of individual villagers. China is a high civilization and a defining characteristic of a civilization is the existence of a large number of modal patterns of behavior. In addition to differences due to sub-cultural variation and individual personalities, there is structured variance related to wealth, sex, birth order, family type, etc. For example, the fact of an adoption would make a significant difference in an individual's life history and although not everyone is adopted, a sizeable minority of village children are adopted.

[178] Taiwan is experiencing great economic and political changes and these too are modifying traditional patterns of 121 the life cycle and its stages. Formal education furnishes 871 a prime example. Currently, two significant stages in the 882 life cycle are marked by entrance into the first grade, the pre-schooler versus the student and the next stage is marked by graduation at the end of the sixth year of school, the change from student to young adult status.

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Very few villagers are educated beyond the compulsory six years although the government is now planning a change from six to nine years of compulsory education.[1] This change too will have a major effect on the typical life cycle for entrance into the labor market (and achievement of young adult status) will be delayed an additional three years. The immediate direct effects on the economics of village life are obvious but there will undoubtedly be concomitant social and cultural effects. For example, at present, boys do not start smoking until their formal education is completed. Even if a boy's age cohorts are working and smoking, the village boy still in school does not. If education is extended three more years, boys will probably not start smoking, on the average, until they are three years older than the present beginning age.

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The effects resulting from a change in the length of compulsory education suggested above are more than mere idle speculations, they are derived by extensions of a process which has already been realized in the last twenty years. [212] Among people over age 70 still living in the village, there is only one literate person, a male. He claimed that when he was a young man, although the village population exceeded 250, only about 15 people attended the local school, only two of them girls. As a clear demonstration of a pattern change, at the time of the study, there were only three village children (one male, two female) of appropriate ages not

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

The Function of Religious Holidays

121 46d There have been innumerable anthropological accounts of the significance of religion and religious events in community life in such areas as intensification of normative standards, promotion of community solidarity, etc. Often seemingly overlooked are the effects of religious holidays in promoting work efficiency. Ever since the Hawthorne studies in the United States in the 1930's (Landeberger, 1958), industrial engineers and sociologists have recognized the importance of work breaks, short periods and full days alike, in increasing output. Although breaks seemingly mean a loss of gainfully employed man hours, output increases on the level of unit man hours as would be expected but more important, in total as well. That is, a man works fewer hours but produces a larger output if he has sufficient work breaks. Although this latter effect was surprising at first, it is now clearly recognized and accepted.

121 466 464 In a study of farm unemployment, C. K. Wu and T. K. Lee (1963) estimated that about 19 per cent of the total (potential) labor units and 24 per cent of the available labor supply in the early 1960's in Taiwan were unemployed. However, not all these people could be removed from the labor force without a deterioration in production because of the seasonal nature of farm activities (Koo, 1968:27-43). As previously stated, in Sanlei, at certain times of the year, there is a shortage of man power. Nevertheless, the

121 original figures of Wu and Lee (1963) are based on some
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464 assumptions which I feel to be unreasonable as well as others which are sound. They assume each adult male constitutes a full labor unit with each female and child counted as a percentage of a full unit. The figures appear reasonable in village terms as is their allowance for housekeeping labor requirements which are related to the size of the household.

121 However, I do not feel that their estimate of the
466 working hours bears sufficient relationship to reality. Wu and Lee assume (1963) and Koo agrees (1968) that an adult male is expected to work ten hours each day for 330 days per year. Both the number of hours in the normal work day and the number of working days in the calendar year appear high on the basis of my observations in Sanlei Ts'un.

464 The normal workday in the village was about eight
461 and a half (8-1/2) hours. Only in the very busiest seasons was the work day any longer. All hired labor was figured on the 8-1/2 hour day with an uncompensated period for lunch. Lunch breaks were longer in the warm weather so that most villagers had sufficient time for a short nap in the middle of the day. Men took naps more often than women. As previously described, there was a considerable amount of labor exchange and any one day's labor was considered the equivalent of any other day's labor no matter what the task. However, in the busiest seasons, people did work overtime but

while girls were a sorrow. The practices of infanticide and the sale of children as servants or prostitutes usually involved only females and rarely, males. The arranged marriage was especially hard for a female because she lacked freedom of choice and her residence changed to a home in which she was a virtual stranger with little status, under the control of her husband's family, with her husband never permitted to champion her cause or show any public affection. Her essence was yin, acquiescent, passive, and dark as opposed to the male essence, yang, active masterful, and bright. All her life, a female was expected to be subordinate to males, in turn father, husband, and son. She was expected to be uneducated, obedient, submissive, untalented, economically useless,[1] unprotesting, subordinate, timid, reticent, and passive. 114 562

The Contrasting Position of Women in Sanlei Ts'un

The position of women in Sanlei Ts'un bears little resemblance to the patterns delineated immediately above which were abstracted from the traditional literature. This discrepancy might be explained on the basis it is due to the fact that the patterns presented in the traditional literature were inaccurate, Sanlei is deviant, or that social and cultural changes have been so great that the patterns which were accurate for an earlier period in history are no longer relevant. A few examples are listed below to illustrate that the first hypothesis (traditional patterns are 121 • 562

inaccurate) is true; although change is endemic, the data in Sanlei is consistent with concrete data in the traditional literature in spite of the many converse generalizations.

It is supposedly a Chinese value that women in traditional China should not be educated (Fairbank, 1958:30; C. K. Yang, 1959:111; Chiu, 1966:19). Currently, education in Sanlei village is compulsory for a full six years for boys and girls alike. One of the three junior high school graduations ever achieved by Sanlei residents is a female. Even eighty years ago, two of the fifteen village children in school were girls. One of the original female settlers was semi-literate and was said to possess a fine form for characters.[2] Although change to near equality of educational opportunity has occurred (See Chapter VIII), it was not from an initial position of total denial of education for females. Rather, females went from a minority position in education to one of near equality with males.

We are unable to fully assess the nature of Sanlei villagers' attitudes towards the education of women in the past but we can attempt an educated guess. Today for instance, although it is felt that education is more important for males, any man who goes beyond elementary school should not marry an illiterate woman. This belief is related to the general proposition advanced in the section on marriage (Chapter VIII) that spouses should not be extremely different from each other in any major attribute[3] such as

562 his wife to serve tea. She quickly complied, brewing a
593 fresh pot and poured the tea into our cups, eyes downcast and meek. She came back a couple of times to ask if her "Lord and Master" desired more tea. Immediately after the secretary left, while we were still sitting around the table finishing a cigarette before returning to the courtyard to finish the job, the "Lord and Master" was sent by his wife to immediately fetch two buckets of water from the river. For the outsider (the secretary), Liao Wei-yu is the master of his house; among his intimates and neighbors, everyone knows his wife is the boss.

121 Questions by an anthropologist will evoke all kinds
562 of statements about the superiority of men and their authority over women. However, if material is carefully elicited and logically analyzed, a different picture is likely to emerge. For example, achieved status with a strong tendency for it to focus on the family unit rather than on the individual is extremely important in Sanlei as it is in most of
562 China. In any discussion about the manner by which a family
577 achieves prosperity or success, much of the material will
593 relate to the importance of women. It is believed that a woman can make a man work hard and it is her thriftiness which allows a family to accumulate money and achieve pros-
581 perity. A man will brag about his wife's ability to save money and a woman's potentiality for thriftiness is an important attribute to be considered in selecting a bride.

562 many centuries, such industries which covered large areas
462 of China meant that women's work constituted valuable addi-
198 tions to the farm family income. Tawney (1932:117-149) discusses the significance of female labor in cottage industry and in small factories but provides no percentage of male to female contributions. If the recent argument that the contributions of females served to elevate their status is true, then the status was elevated long ago.

121 As stated in the beginning of this dissertation,
562 because the official historical record from the past contains few facts about the peasant or the nature of rural life, we are forced to make many assumptions and guesses. One kind of clue may derive from fiction for the fiction which tends to endure in any society usually embodies the ethos and values of the society. An analysis of the part females play in most of the classical stories reveals roles usually quite unlike the traditional normative standards abstracted from the Great Tradition but very similar to what we have described for Sanlei. It is argued that the ideal normative standards of the Great Tradition for women in China are not in accord with the facts on the actual level for both Great and Little Traditions nor on the ideal level for the Little Tradition, i.e., peasant men seem to prefer a wife to be somewhat thrifty and domineering so they can achieve success.

There is a phrase in Shakespeare which seems appropriate, "Methinks he doth protest too much." It is

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

• (2) 562 considered axiomatic in anthropology that there will be cultural elaboration around items and problems which are considered important in the society. These items are subject to fads and fashions, that is, they may change with time. For example, pollution is recognized as a major problem today in the United States and one finds an enormous amount of material discussing it although twenty years previously, there was little material in spite of the fact pollution levels were nearly identical. The very great quantity of literature in China, most of it written by men, encompassing extended periods of time, devoted to the lowly position of women, describing their proper relationships to men, setting forth a multitude of laws to insure proper behavior, etc., may well be because women simply refused to behave as men demanded. In other words, there is so much literature on the ideal level because the behavior of women on the actual level so rarely conformed.

In addition to the above, there appears to be a frequent failure to come to grips with conflicting statements in a single account with the goal of resolving them. This failure may be related to the segmental personality, the situation-centered phenomena described by Hsu (1953; 1963) which I considered in Chapter VII. Several examples have been presented in this section but to emphasize the point, one more will be considered in some detail.

562 586 671 [114] 121 562 586 671 "obnoxious and absurd" and "fraught with misgivings" which it may well be but this is irrelevant to the fact of exclusiveness. As is quite clear from the facts, man does not have exclusive rights to divorce in China and as far as I am able to determine, he never did have exclusive rights but since acknowledgement of other than complete right of males to divorce would be inconsistent with the theme of the Great Tradition which emphasizes the male perogatives, it is nearly impossible for the scholar to either confront or overcome the exceptions. Instead, there will be a tendency previously discussed in conjunction with cognitive dissonance theory to either "deny the facts which are not in agreement with the previous knowledge" as is illustrated immediately above in the example of Chiu or to ignore the contrary evidence entirely as in Lang's discussion of divorce (1946).

Conclusions and Suggestions for Future Research

121 562 The Great Tradition of China maintains that the social position of women is extremely low when compared to the social position of men. I have demonstrated by means of a case study of a contemporary Chinese community on Taiwan that women do have a lower status than men but that the differences are not as great as would be expected from a cursory examination of the literature and moreover, that many women play roles simply not permitted by the supposed value system, i.e., household head, political official, postmaster,

121 562 [178] school board official, etc. It is further demonstrated that although changes leading to increased status for women are in process, even at the time when the village was originally established, women were playing roles similar to those found today, i.e., the changes are quantitative rather than qualitative in most respects. In summary, Sanlei Ts'un is not congruent with the patterns portrayed in the traditional literature.

121 184 562 As suggested at the beginning of this chapter, this deviancy from traditional patterns might be explained on the basis that Sanlei was not like most Chinese communities. In order to refute these possibilities, Sanlei was tested for its degree of uniqueness by comparing it with other Chinese communities in space and time. Women's labor was found to be important in most rural Chinese communities and special tasks in cottage or factory industries or in connection with certain crops such as tea or silk were commonly assigned to women in many other communities. In any major attribute such as the value of labor contribution, family size, practice of religion, etc., Sanlei did not appear to be unique. That is, the village was a unique combination but the general patterns were found in many other villages whether separated by time or by space. Rates of some items varied (when provided) but such practices as adopted-in husbands, neolocal residence, girls fleeing to the city for work, etc., were found everywhere. Sanlei did not seem

121 184 562 sufficiently different from other Chinese villages to support any claim that the research results were not reasonably applicable to an understanding of women's roles for much of China.

121 562 Therefore, an assumption was made that the null hypothesis, i.e., the nature of women's roles discovered in Sanlei were accurate and that the Great Tradition was wrong was confirmed. Anthropological ethnographies and traditional accounts were re-examined in minute detail for supporting and refuting evidence. Only rarely did any generalized statement or summary support the assumption (Hu Shih, 1934:104-5), but there were multitudes of concrete facts which were highly supportive of the assumption. Indeed, it appeared that the more carefully collected the data and the more detailed and concrete the presentation, the greater the support for my description of the role of 114 women in Chinese society. Whenever an author included both 121 good data and summaries pertaining to women's roles, the 562 two were often in disagreement as previously demonstrated. However, in most cases, material which would bear directly on the problem focus of the paper were simply omitted.

For example, in an excellent detailed Chinese ethnography of a single rural village, Fei discusses some of the relationships with the chia, particularly in reference to parents and children (1939:34-8) and daughter-in-law to mother-in-law (1939:45-50). He discusses marriage

114 121 562 (1939:40-45) but has little material on authority patterns between husbands and wives. In the discussion of the daughter-in-law, Fei stresses her relationship with her mother-in-law and completely ignores the role of the father-in-law in the home and only briefly discusses the combined role of son-husband in such as his duty to support his mother in a conflict between the two women in the household and his occasional failure to fulfill this obligation (1939:49). Although Fei claims "the mother-in-law represents authority," this summary interpretation is not extended to the whole complex of roles found in the household but only to the daughter-in-law. Interestingly, he does provide a typology of the 359 families in the village (1939:29) and it appears that there are only 12 which certainly have a mother-in-law daughter-in-law relationship in the home and 138 more which might have, i.e., only 12 households (3.3%) are fully extended and 128 households (38.4%) have a married couple plus extended relatives, some of whom may be mothers-in-law. In other words, he omits consideration of the most common patterns of authority relationships to be found in the home and concentrates on the role of the mother-in-law dominating her daughter-in-law although this pattern must be a minority pattern in village households. Consideration of the omitted material might support the ideals of the Great Tradition, i.e., male dominance, but I suspect women in Kaihsienkung are or were actually playing roles similar to those reported in Sanlei.

124 562 Now that the particular problem of conflicting interpretations of the nature of female roles in Chinese society has been identified, future field research hopefully will settle the issue. As more scholars focus on the role of women,[91] both in current field research and reconsideration of previous data, I am sure that my delineation of the nature of women's roles will be confirmed.

121 There is a larger problem of which this whole case is merely an example, how did such errors of interpretation occur and what can be done to prevent similar errors in the future? The mechanism leading to misinterpretation was suggested in the introductory chapter and is briefly reviewed below:

1. Every civilization has a Great Tradition expressed in a literary record which sets forth the society's "ideal" value system.

2. Indigenous scholars and foreign anthropologists alike become steeped in the "ideal" culture delineated in the Great Tradition.

3. As explained by means of cognitive dissonance theory, it is extremely difficult to overcome a belief once it is internalized, i.e., evidence which is contrary to existing knowledge will be denied.

4. Therefore, it is likely that both evidence and conclusions derived from research in civilizations by "experts" in the culture will be unconsciously biased in favor of the Great Tradition.

In addition to the above, there is a kind of style in anthropological research which contributes to the problem: an emphasis on social organization and social structure. There has been an attempt to find and describe that which persists

[91] [This should be footnote 8--Analyst]

12| in the dynamics of relationships between people. There is no necessary causal relationship between a structural approach and an emphasis on "ideal" culture rather than "actual" culture[10] with a concomitant dismissal of exceptions. Nevertheless, there tends to be a strong positive
114 relationship. According to Firth (1951:31), some anthro-
121 pologists have attempted "to see a social structure in sets of ideals and expectations alone." Firth goes on to distinguish between structure and organization, largely on the basis that social structure is timeless, persisting, and not concrete (1951:31-40).

Marion Levy provides one of the most convincing demonstrations of the anthropological emphasis on "ideal" rather than "actual" culture patterns (1965:1-63). In essence, Levy claims that the vast majority of the population in any society is likely to spend the bulk of their lives in elementary family units. Nevertheless, anthropological accounts are likely to focus on the cultural ideal, i.e., the unilineal extended or polygynous household, which constitutes a small minority and seemingly ignore the dominant (in terms of quantity) pattern.

12 I would suggest that the number of misinterpretations could be reduced by the following techniques: (1) enumeration of rates and cases, (2) a processural approach, (3) reduced emphasis on a single culture, and (4) comparative field studies by non-specialists. Each is explained and

[10] [This should be footnote 9--Analyst]